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Nanyo Colonialism/Postcolonialism: A Comparative Literary and Cultural Study on Representations of the Pacific in Japanese and English Language Fiction

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Nanyo Colonialism/Postcolonialism:

A Comparative Literary and Cultural Study on Representations of the Pacific in Japanese and English Language Fiction

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of English Studies
University of Wollongong

by
Naoto Sudo

2003

Abstract

Colonial and postcolonial discourse studies have almost solely been focusing on Anglo- and Francophone texts. This thesis mainly deals with colonial and postcolonial discourses from Japan, which has the experiences since the mid-nineteenth century both of Western cultural and economic colonisation and occupation on the one hand and of its own colonial (military, political, economic, and cultural) expansion to Asian/Pacific areas on the other. The thesis concentrates on representations of the Pacific, in which Asia/Pacific, Japan, and the West have been involved with one another, the three subjects conditioning Japanese colonialism and postcolonialism. A key argument of the thesis is that the three-way interactions of colonial/postcolonial representations of Japanese in the Pacific region produce a 'colonial subject' different from Eurocentric colonial models and more complex than dominant Self-Other theories have allowed. In considering colonialism and postcolonialism in the Pacific, the thesis points out that the 'Japanese' subject as coloniser/colonised is used in contemporary texts from Japan and Pacific islands to intervene not only in colonial myths of 'southern earthly paradise' but also anti-colonial binarism of oppressor/oppressed.

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Notes on Japanese Names and Terms

Japanese names throughout the thesis are written in English order, given name first. Macrons to indicate long vowels in transliterated Japanese are not used in the thesis. Those who know the language will have no difficulty in differentiating the vowels, while to those without the language macrons are of little use.

Introduction

The Japanese word *Nanyo* (the 'South Seas'), in Mark Peattie's words, is 'an extremely vague term': 'At various times, it has included Micronesia, Melanesia, the South China Sea, and Southeast Asia from the Andaman Islands to Papua' (xvii). It vaguely refers to the tropical sphere of seas and islands in the 'south' of Japan. It also centres on Micronesia – its narrower definition in general use in the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, the period through which the term was most frequently used in Japan (Peattie xviii). On the other hand, the 'South Sea' means the Pacific Ocean for most of the Western world from the early sixteenth century, although this appellation 'south' is derived from the south of the isthmus of Panama (Kiste 3). The term 'South Pacific' replaced 'South Seas' after World War Two (Hau'ofa 2000, 116-117). 'South Pacific', although not including Micronesia in general, occasionally encompasses 'island groups where American military and naval forces were stationed or involved in combat from 1942 to 1944, which would include islands from Samoa to Saipan' (Peattie xviii). For the Japanese, however, it 'can only include territories in the Pacific that lie south of the equator' (Peattie xviii).

The difference in scope of the terms, as suggested above, stems from difference of those subjects' ('the Japanese', 'the Westerners', or 'Americans') relationships to the Pacific, or rather, their *colonial* relationships to it. This thesis will deal with such relationships of the Japanese to the islanders as have been produced and transformed through colonial dynamics over the islands and sea, mainly since the early nineteenth century until the 1990s. And it will do this by examining Japanese images or representations of the area, especially Micronesia that was under Japan's rule from 1914 to 1945 and on which the

term 'Nanyo' centred as mentioned above.

In his influential book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said defines his concept of 'Orientalism' as the sum of the West's representations of the Orient that construct binary divisions between the Orient and the Occident (the West) and stereotypes of the 'strange', 'degenerate', and 'timeless' Orient. It is a useful analytic framework within and against which we can also consider Japanese imperialist representations of the Pacific Other.

Whereas Said emphasises the power of colonial representation as producing distinct categories of Self and Other, Homi Bhabha concentrates on its contradictions and crevices in his book *The Location of Culture* (1994). According to him, both ambivalence and anxious repetition are intrinsic qualities of colonial representations – it is not possible to completely separate the subjectivities at either end of the Self/Other polarity. Bhabha's 'ambivalence' and threat of 'mimicry' (*almost the same but not quite* [Bhabha 89]) can criticise and complement Said's 'Orientalism' effectively.

In this thesis, Said's and Bhabha's concepts are applied to its analysis of Japanese colonial discourses on the Pacific. Japanese Orientalism vis-à-vis the Pacific is an important concept here called 'Nanyo-Orientalism'. Both Japanese colonialists' construction of a Pacific Island Other and their anxiety towards, as well as their fantastic dreams of, Japan's Pacific Island colonies will be highlighted in my discussion.

In the process, comparison of Nanyo-Orientalism with Western 'Orientalist' constructions of the Pacific will identify particular qualities of the former's colonialist discourse and point to shortcomings in purely West-centric postcolonial theories. The Korean-Japanese scholar Kang Sang-Jung points out that 'Japanese Orientalism' can be characterised as the simultaneous process of double desires to avoid Western territorial ambition on Japan and to use Orientalism's hegemonic power over other Asian/Pacific regions (31-32). I shall discuss how such ambivalence of Japanese Orientalism based on the dual ambiguity both towards the West and Asia/Pacific has been described and designated in Japanese texts on the Pacific (Micronesia) since the nineteenth

century.

Moreover, this thesis will underscore resistance within Japan and by the Pacific islanders against Japanese colonial discourses. Some representations of the Pacific made by those in Japan challenge or modify the durable assumptions of the tropical south or the colonised islanders. These Japanese counter-colonial voices from within colonial discourses can be regarded as equivalent to resistance within the West, attempts to depict a colonised subject that can be read contrapuntally or escape colonialism's representations.

Comparisons of such anti-colonial attitudes from Japan and the West in the colonial period of the Pacific will be made in this thesis on the one hand, and those of counter-colonialism from Japan and the Pacific in its decolonising period will also be made on the other. Japan, Westernised (colonised culturally) in the late nineteenth century and occupied and 'Americanised' after World War Two, should be considered not only the coloniser but also colonised.

As shown later, there are those Japanese texts dealing with the Pacific that show a 'postcolonial' consciousness, especially since the 1980s. This is a period when in the Western and (ex-)colonised non-Western worlds' literature and criticism, substituted for 'liberal humanist readings by critics of Commonwealth literature, the (newly re-christened) "postcolonial literatures" were at a stroke regarded as politically radical and locally situated, rather than universally relevant' (McLeod 25). In keeping with this movement, criticising US and Japanese relations with Micronesia – US's military and cultural hegemonic presence and Japan's colonial history and post-war economic/tourist (neo-colonialist) surge – some contemporary Japanese writers challenge conventional modes of representations of the Pacific. In this thesis, the term 'postcolonialism', distinguished from 'post-colonialism (after colonialism)', refers to such attempt to intervene in powerful colonial views.

In the decolonisation of the Pacific from the 1960s onward, literature from the Islands arose in opposition to Western imperial powers. Japan assumed a different position in relation to its southern borders during this time. This thesis looks at the uses of Japan by Island writers arguing a postcolonial cultural

project and at the position of ethnic Japanese settled in the Pacific writing within a postcolonial framework, but not as indigenous activists.

Through comparisons of colonial/postcolonial representations from Japan, the West, and the Pacific Islands, this thesis aims to bring to light the Pacific as a locale of diverse identities' striving together over colonial cultures. It will present a new postcolonial image of the Pacific from a vantage point of 'the Japanese', the coloniser colonised. On identity and representation, Stuart Hall argues that identity should be thought as 'a "production" which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation' (2000, 21); 'the notion that identity is outside representation – that there are our selves and then the language in which we describe ourselves – is untenable. Identity is within discourse, within representation' (1996, 345-346). The literary and non-literary texts on the Pacific used in this thesis can be regarded as the spaces where identities were/are constantly produced and reproduced through colonial and postcolonial negotiations of creolisations, assimilations, and syncretisms. And in such identities under incessant influences of transformation and differentiation, 'self' and 'other' are '[n]either all the same nor entirely different' (Hall 1996, 349). So, to what extent one is different/identical to the other is to be focused on in the comparative analysis of those texts.

In Part I, the process of Nanyo-Orientalism's construction and changes will be suggested. Influx of Western knowledge (especially that obtained through Captain Cook's voyages) and information brought by castaway survivors under the Tokugawa regime's 'closed-door policy' since the early seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, a visit to Hawai'i by a delegation to the US immediately after its 'opening', and *nanshin* (southward advance) discourses in the Meiji era (1868-1912) – these are important elements to consider Japanese images of the south in the period before Japan ruled Micronesia (Chapter 1). In thinking over general representations of Nanyo in the period of Japan's colonisation of Micronesia, the very popular cartoon story *Boken Dankichi* (Dankichi the Adventurous, 1933-1939) will be mainly seen, in addition to the

influential school text 'Torakku-to Dayori' (A Letter from Truk) as well as travellers' guide, travel writing, fiction, film, and popular song (Chapter 2). Then, the Japanese writer Atsushi Nakajima's achievement of 'postcoloniality' in his wartime work concerning Nanyo will be considered (Chapter 3). Lastly Nanyo-Orientalism's change and continuity since the postwar period to the 1970s will be examined, with *Gojira* (Godzilla) films' postcolonialism and colonialism highlighted (Chapter 4).

In Part II, Nanyo-Orientalism is contrasted with Anglophone South-Sea- and South-Pacific-Orientalism (and vice versa). First, the relation between Japan's 'modernisation' (Westernisation) and the change of representations of Nanyo from 'political novels' in the 1890s through Japan's occupation of Micronesia in 1914 to 'A Letter from Truk' in 1920 will be considered. I shall do this by comparing this about-thirty-year change with the about-one-hundred-fifty-year transition of representations of the South Seas from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) through Captain Cook's voyages in the late eighteenth century to Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846) (Chapter 5). Secondly, popular Orientalism depicted in works for boys in the British and Japanese empires at their zenith will be seen through a comparative reading of Robert Michael Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858) and *Dankichi* (Chapter 6). Following such zenith of the empires and South-Sea-/Nanyo-Orientalism, counter-colonial discourses were produced from within the empires. The third topic is resistance to Orientalism vis-à-vis the Pacific colonies in the West and Japan (Chapter 7). And last, the South Sea/South Pacific Paradise, revived and strengthened in the West by going through the resistance and the two world wars, will be contrasted with the paradisaal images of the Pacific in Japanese works (Chapter 8).

In Part III, anti-/Orientalisms examined in these previous chapters will be re-examined through postcolonial texts from Japan and the Pacific in the 1980s-1990s. In doing so, I will suggest that 'dialogues' between oppressors and oppressed become complex as the opposing positions blur and show a shift of postcolonialisms in the Pacific – Japan, Polynesia, Micronesia, and Hawai'i – in the period. After contemporary Japanese works are analysed (Chapter 9), their

'postcoloniality' will be compared with that from Pacific islands in its subsequent chapters. In Polynesian writing in English (except Hawai'i) where the British, Australian, and New Zealand ex-colonial hegemony and local patriarchy or Westernised systems are targeted, the Samoan writer Albert Wendt and the Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa include images of contemporary Japanese in their works. How do these works use the Japanese for their postcolonial interventions (Chapter 10)? On the model of Polynesian 'postcolonial literature', literary works are increasingly being produced also in Micronesia. From the viewpoint of 'Pacific literature', literature from Micronesia that has a different colonial experience from Polynesia of both Japan's colonial rule and the US military power, characteristically has a deeper interest in confrontation of Japanese and US imperialism. How do the indigenous writers from Micronesia respond to the tug of war between the Western and Oriental imperialists and what relations can be found between mutual images of Micronesians and its ex-colonisers, the Japanese (Chapter 11)? Lastly, I shall deal with postcolonial 'Japanese identities' in contemporary writing from Hawai'i, whose main target is US plantation colonialism. They are created through representations of various colonial relationships in Hawai'i: Japanese plantation labourers and their white rulers, Japanese businesspeople/tourists and native Hawaiians, Japanese labourers and other local peoples (Koreans and Filipinos), Japanese immigrants and local Japanese-Americans, local Japanese-American man and Japanese woman national, 'half-Japanese half-white' people, and so on. The differences between representations of Japanese colonisers colonised from Hawai'i and Japan and between Japanese postcoloniality expressed by Japanese writers from Hawai'i and Japan will be the important points in this argument (Chapter 12).

One important finding from this comparative study is the difference between Japanese and Western discursive management of 'natives'. Whereas white colonisation emphasised the savage difference of coloured heathen and imposed a contradictory regime of assimilation and discrimination, Japanese colonialism saw Islanders more as a slightly less-evolved potential Self. The

thesis suggests that the former demanded a vocal indigenist literary resistance while the latter produced less conflictual, but in some cases more complexly conflicted, literary responses to the past.

PART I

Representing Nanyo: Japanese Views of the Pacific (Micronesia)

Chapter 1

The Formation of Nanyo Discourse

Knowledge and images of the Pacific Islands in the days of the Tokugawa regime

It was not until the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate regime (the Edo period: 1603-1867) that a certain amount of knowledge about the Pacific Islands was brought to Japan.¹ At the time, two comprehensive books by Japanese geographers were widely used: Saisuke Yamamura's *Teisei Zoyaku Sairan Igen* (Revised and Translations-appended Version of *Gathering and Reading Foreign Affairs*; completed in 1803) and Shogo Mitsukuri's *Konyo Zusiki* (A World Guide; published in 1845). Yamamura revised Hakuseki Arai's *Sairan Igen* (Gathering and Reading Foreign Affairs; completed in 1713; published in 1881), the first systematic geography book of the world in Japan. Arai, a Neo-Confucian, compiled it through examining Italian missionary Giovanni Battista Sidotti, who had infiltrated into Japan in 1708. In its compilation, Arai also consulted mainly Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci's influential world map (1602) and Joan Blaeu's world map (*Nova Totivs Terrarum Orbis Tabvla*, 1648).

Yamamura enlarged and corrected Arai's work chiefly by referring to Chinese geography and science books written by Jesuits and translating Dutch dictionaries and atlases.² China and Holland were the only countries (other than Korea and Ryukyu) that traded with Japan under its closed-door policy at the time (1639-1854). These materials were all written in the seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century. On the other hand, Mitsukuri's work refers to more up-to-date Dutch materials (although they cannot be identified) published in the early nineteenth century. It reflects some results of the voyages of James Cook in the Pacific (1772-1779), no longer depicting 'Magellanica', a legendary southern continent, and presents the existence of several Pacific islands which Yamamura's book does not mention at all.

In about ninety years between Arai's and Yamamura's book, the international situation which surrounded Japan had completely changed. Taking measures to cope with Russia's southwards advance and claims on trade with Japan became a pressing need for the shogunate. Details of European countries' colonisation of Asia had become available through access to European books.³ The shift in outlook can be seen in the fact that whereas in Arai's work, Asia accounts for 42 percent and Europe 23 percent, in Yamamura's book, Asia accounts for 31 and Europe 38, and in Mitsukuri's, Asia 22 and Europe 41 percent (Torii 224).

In contrast to these modern outward-looking texts, the first published geography book of the world in Japan adopted a China-centred view which consigned the Pacific to unknown barbarity. Joken Nishikawa, an astronomer in Nagasaki, wrote *Zoho Kai Tsusho Ko* (Enlarged *A Study of Commerce in China and Foreign Countries*, published in 1708) by supplementing his former *Kai Tsusho Ko* (published in 1695). This widely circulated revised version mirrors a mixture of the Confucianist, Buddhist, and European world views in Japan. In accordance with the Confucianist world outlook, the book classifies and hierarchises the whole world basically into 'chuka' (the centre or China), 'gaikoku' (foreign countries), and 'gaii' (foreign barbarous countries). 'Gaikoku' – Korea, Ryukyu, Taiwan, and Vietnam – is defined as 'the countries which, not

belonging to China, obey its order, use its characters, and accept the three faiths [Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism]', that is, the Chinese cultural area (Nishikawa 113). 'Gaii' means the other 'abnormal' areas classified according to their distance from India as the Buddhist holy place. 'Gaii' even includes monsters derived from Pliny and more traditionally Eastern symbols of wildness.⁴

While Nishikawa's book does not have a heading of 'Japan', Arai's work places 'Japan' in a chapter of 'Asia', adopting the Dutch reading of 'Japan'. But in the nineteenth century, in Yamamura's and Mitsukuri's geography books, Japan is described as 'Great Japan' and 'the Emperor's Nation' respectively.⁵ Yumiko Torii suggests that this tendency to accord Japan special treatment in these books relates closely to the view of Japan in Dutch books, and further, to the seventeenth- to the early nineteenth-century Western views of Japan. These asserted that the Japanese held a unique position in Asia especially in language and that the Japanese were superior to other Asian peoples, even Chinese, in handicrafts, art, and knowledge, although inferior to Europeans (Torii 239-241). In eighteenth-century Japan, this position of superiority was bolstered by ethnocentrism in reaction to diplomatic threats of Europe and inflows of European knowledge.

In Mitsukuri's book, its description of the Pacific islands epitomises both its up-to-dateness and imperfection. It provides only a little information regarding the islands and lists them both in the chapters of 'Asia' and 'Australasia': the Caroline Islands, the Mariana Islands in the first volume (Asia) and New Guinea, New Britain, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, the Palau Islands, the Friendly Islands (Tonga), the Society Islands, the Marquesas Islands, the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), and the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands in the fifth volume (Australasia).⁶ The book depicts Pacific islanders as follows: 'The skin colour is dark. The nature is stupid. The lips are turned up. The hair is animalistic' (general remarks; 5: 1). Their 'customs are similar to those on Luzon' (Caroline Islands; 1: 32). ('Their customs are extremely vulgar [Luzon; 1: 32]). 'Imbecility' is innate in the natives. They are 'full of guile' (Mariana

Islands; 1: 33). The natives have 'dark face, flat, wide nose, huge eyes, and jet-black hair', 'always naked' (New Guinea; 5: 4). The natives have 'yellow face', and are 'brutal' (New Britain; 5: 5). The natives are 'strong and sturdy', 'always naked', their skin 'black-ochre' (Solomon Islands; 5: 5). The natives have 'a horrible evil custom'. They are 'fond of eating human flesh'. 'However, this differs from what Mr. Cook reported. He writes that the people are charitable, scrupulous, [...] This view is probably right' (New Caledonia; 5: 6). 'Agility' is innate in the natives (Palau; 5: 6). The natives have 'courage' and 'morality', 'treat foreign travellers as kindly as possible', and 'like cleanliness.' 'But they have an evil custom of sacrificing travellers because they live at the end of the world. This is a most hideous practice' (Friendly Islands [Tonga]; 5: 8). The natives are 'upright', 'dutiful to their parents', 'benevolent' but have 'a vice of tattoos'. In recent years missionaries from London 'abolished heathenism and the bad custom of infanticide' (Society Islands; 5: 9). The natives are 'lighthearted', 'plotting to commit a theft in secret', and 'suspicious' (Marquesas Islands; 5: 11). The natives have 'yellow-black faces' (New Hebrides; 5: 11). The natives are 'benign', 'diligent', and 'benevolent' (Sandwich Islands [Hawaiian Islands]; 5: 12). Thus, Mitsukuri accepts European descriptive frameworks but at the same time seems to have some scepticism about such discourses, especially attitudes to cannibalism, as we can see in the description of New Caledonia.

In 1860 after the opening of Japan, the shogunate dispatched a delegation to the US to exchange instruments of ratification of the US-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce. The delegation was composed of intellectuals such as vassals of the shogunate and feudal lords, medical doctors, and interpreters. Their diaries during their two-week stay in Honolulu also echo the Euro-American anthropological and evangelical discourses found in Mitsukuri's geography book. Among them, Sadayu Tamamushi exceptionally writes that native Hawaiians are similar to Japanese people in appearance, although at the same time he severely criticises the natives' laziness and the living close together of both sexes (37-38). The latter criticism comes from the Confucian

view that men and women over the age of seven should not share a table.

Unlike these intellectuals, common castaways usually had little preliminary knowledge of the Pacific islanders. According to Eikichi Ishikawa, the first recorded castaways who saw Pacific islanders were four crew members of the *Wakamiya Maru*, such as Tsudayu. They were cast ashore on the Aleutian Islands in 1793, protected by Russia, and stayed in Russia for nine years before being sent home on a Russian ship traversing the Atlantic and Pacific. On the way, they stopped in Hawai'i and the Marquesas in 1804 (Eikichi Ishikawa 9-11).

The records of those castaways also sometimes depict the islanders as disgraceful, weird, and demoniac on the grounds of their appearance (being naked, barefoot and tattooed on their faces) and of their behaviour (such as killing cows and swine and eating their meat, which had been taboo in Buddhist discipline). However, there is some possibility that those records do not reflect castaways' views faithfully. For there was almost no record that castaways wrote themselves. Those records were written either by scholars, who by shogunate or feudal lords' command put castaways' statements on record with some revision, or by intellectuals who personally took dictation from castaways or secretly copied official records of interrogations by public servants. Concerning meat-eating, Manabu Tsukamoto argues that writers of those records tended to write with exaggeration their own aversion to meat-eating as castaways' thoughts (106-117).⁷ In addition, comments from Americans or Russians who rescued the castaways – especially about cannibalism – may also have affected such evaluation.

Hikozo (Joseph Hiko) and Manjiro (John Manjio), who had been educated and converted to Christians in the US after their shipwreck and rescue by US ships, had an idea of 'race'.⁸ While Hikozo describes indigenous Hawaiians as 'blacks', 'humble and inferior to the Chinese as a race', he praises Hawai'i for its equitable intimacy with foreign countries, and criticises China for its self-righteousness (Hikozo Hamada, 'Hyoryu Ki' [A Record of Drifting], Tsuneo Yamashita 5: 392).⁹ Manjiro points out that the Hawaiians, Samoans, and

Guamanians are akin to Asian people, although relating that the New Guineans look horrible (Masayo Yoshida, 'Hyokaku Danki' [A Strange Tale of Castaways], Tsuneo Yamashita 5: 79, 81, 88).

The castaways as well as the envoys often testified that the islanders looked like *oni* (demons or fierce gods). Foreigners (*gaii* or *iteki*), especially Western people, had often been depicted as *oni* in Japanese records and pictures. On the whole the records of castaways who saw the islanders express fear rather than the contempt seen in the envoys' records. Some of the castaways seem to have had good first-hand impressions of the islanders. For instance, Toraemon, one of Manjiro's fellow fishermen, made up his mind to settle down in Hawai'i when Manjiro came to rescue them from the US nine years after their shipwreck. Toraemon was exempted from a poll tax, made his living by carpentry, and married a young native woman.

However, sailors of the *Tenju Maru*, who were cast away, relieved by a US whaler, and sent to Honolulu in 1850, made some insulting remarks with regard to the islanders, expressing a similar ethnocentrism to the visiting intellectuals:

The native men and women are dark. The women are quite different from American ladies in look in their eyes and appearance. They have vulgar figures, far from being graceful, and incompetent. In these respects, [the castaways] emphasised, there is a great difference between our country's women and them. ('Kishu-sen Beikoku Hyoryu Ki' [A Record of a Kishu Ship's Drifting in America], Tsuneo Yamashita 5: 253).

[...] there is no comparison between our Japan and this [Hawai'i]. The prestige, strength and prosperity of our divine country are the best in the world. Japan is second to none in its bumper crops, refined martial arts, and exquisite workmanship. All the foreign countries respect and adore the divinity of our nation, coming many times to solicit trade with it with the utmost courtesy. (260)

Those sailors abuse Hawai'i and slander the fishermen such as Manjiro, whom

they happened to meet in Honolulu.¹⁰ Considering that Manjiro had been Christianised and educated in the US, the gap between the two groups consisted mainly in the fact that the sailors were more obsessed with the Confucian view of foreigners as *iteki* (animalistic savages) and the thought of 'Japan as the divine country with mighty force'. While viewing foreigners as *iteki*, the sailors had a favourable impression towards white women just as the envoys had.¹¹

With the shift of overseas information sources from China into the West during the eighteenth century, knowledge of the Pacific islanders was conveyed to Japanese people through Western scientific discourses. For intellectuals who were familiar with the Confucian and Buddhist stratified worldviews, living in the patriarchal and caste system, European images of the islanders as cultural and religious 'others' and notion of racial discrimination were easily acceptable. Some of the common people had also come to have such a view, which was caused by the development of urban economy and popular culture.¹² Some people regarded the islanders (Polynesians and Micronesians) as similar to the Japanese and even as Asians, but in Japanese discourses on the islanders just before Japan's modernisation under the Meiji Restoration Government, pre-modern customary ideas of *oni* and *iteki* combined with Western representations of 'the savage'.

In fact, the Pacific was a 'contact zone' in which Japanese voyagers were conduits for Western claims on open trade with Asia and Japanese demand for knowledge of foreign affairs. The Pacific islanders became a pawn in these political and cultural shifts.

Nanyo discourses in the Meiji era

For the new Meiji administration set out for establishing a modernistic unified nation, some pending diplomatic problems – especially those of revision of unequal treaties with the Western great powers and decision of the boundary – were ones to be solved immediately. In respect of the former, however, the government leaders had become aware of Japan's helplessness, since the

dispatch of Iwakura Delegation to Europe in 1873, realising that there was no alternative but to strive for the growth of national strength and to look forward to their future amendment. In 1873, after the frustration of the faction of 'Seikan ron' (Korea-conquering argument), 'hokushu-nanshin' (protection of the north and advance into the south) formed the keynote of Japan's diplomacy. Then, Japan put a great deal of effort into deciding its boundary, namely, that of domestic colonies. It concluded a treaty with Russia to exchange Sakhalin for the Kuril Islands (1875) and devoted itself to opening up Hokkaido. It also sent troops to Taiwan (1874), and carried out possession of Ogasawara (1875) and 'Ryukyu shobun' (disposition of Ryukyu) to reorganise it as Okinawa (1879) – these were to be preparatory steps for its *nanshin* (southward advance) policy in the future.

Western literature permeated Japan, and was translated in large quantities unselectively. It served Japan's need to understand, imitate, and appropriate Western colonialist conceptions and colonial enterprise. The first Western literary work to be translated was Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) – which was rendered into Japanese in the Edo period (1848) and published (1872) and retranslated in the Meiji era. Importantly, it romanticised the colonial encounter and celebrated British expansionism and adventurism. 'Crusoe's island is a colonialist's utopia', Masao Miyoshi points out, 'just as the novel as a printed narrative form is a colonial utopian space in which the subject meets the objects in a struggle for mastery' (57). Also translated then was Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. The science fiction of Jules Verne was another favourite. On the other hand, Japan became a fashion in European literature at the end of the nineteenth century, especially among French writers. Pierre Loti, the author of *Le Mariage de Loti* (1880), one of the most important Western works set in the Pacific, negotiated in Nagasaki an indecorous marriage with Kiku (Chrysanthemum) in 1885, which was to be notorious in Japan because of his work *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887). The popularity of *Robinson Crusoe*, *Le Mariage de Loti* and other Western sea stories and the notoriety of *Madame Chrysanthème* among Japanese people was in tune with

Japan's double attitudes towards Western colonialism that have been mentioned above.

Shigetaka Shiga, permitted to take passage in a naval training ship, the *Tsukuba*, visited the Pacific islands, Australia and New Zealand for nearly ten months in 1886.¹³ He wrote up his observations in his *Nanyo Jiji* (Conditions in the South Seas, 1887), which Toru Yano asserts 'set the concept of "Nanyo" as a term that is different from and no less important than both "Toyo" (the East) and "Seiyo" (the West) for the first time in Japan' (1979, 26). As Yano points out, *nanshin* discourses, with Shiga's at the head of the list, showed a concentration around 1890. This is related closely with domestic and international situations: the change concerning colonialism from domestic migration (e.g. to Hokkaido) into overseas emigration (Toru Yano 1979, 16-17),¹⁴ and Germany's possession of the Marshall Islands in 1886.

Shiga's description of the Pacific islanders crucially differs from representations before the mid-nineteenth century, in that the former is affected by evolutionary theory. In a chapter entitled 'Depopulation of the natives on Kusaie [Kosrae]' he writes that 'the white races are superior ones, and the yellow, black, copper, and Malayan races are inferior ones' (3: 3). Quoting Charles Darwin, Shiga argues that the contact of these two sides inevitably brings about depopulation of the latter who 'cannot compare with the superior races in mind and body' (3: 4). He places the Japanese on both sides of this unequal relation caused by colonial encounters. On the one hand, he maintains that the Ezo natives (Ainu) are to the Japanese what the indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand are to the white British. On the other, he asserts that 'Today we, the yellow races, should compete with the white races to protect ourselves against them' (3: 7). But his solution is not Japan's military expansion into the Pacific or its taking the lead in Asian countries' solidarity, but its peaceful commercial launch into Oceania by allying with Britain. This was an orthodox point of view. 'Nanyo' was a key term in the discourse of economic colonialism in Japan. In Shiga's contention, however, the logic of the survival of the fittest in evolutionary theory also offers the possibility for Japan to be a

'liberator' of the islanders from Western powers. Nanyo was seen to be an 'outlet' for those out of work or a means of reducing the number of mouths to be fed at home. But the lower ranks of emigrating Japanese could also raise up lazy natives or savages, and compete against powerful white slave drivers.

Around 1890, 'political novels' (enlightenment literature) also appeared, usually published in newspapers, with their settings of Nanyo. Those stories were often fantasies by writers in a reformist party out of power, as is typically suggested in the preface of Teccho Suehiro's *Nanyo no Daiharan* (A Great Disturbance in the South Seas, 1891): 'I did not copy geography works on the South Seas. [...] I created a land with virulent mist and savage rain on paper simply to voice my dissatisfaction that had been pent up in my mind' (244). However, the 'political novel' was literature focused primarily on Japanese society. The Pacific was merely a roundabout way for some political writers to make a point. Furthermore, at the time, the younger generation writers began to publish those novels describing the life of 'ordinary people' which were to shape 'modern Japanese literature'. Nanyo was a dreamy locale for those who were out of the mainstream of political and literary 'modernity'.

In Ryukei Yano's 'political novel', *Ukishiro Monogatari* (The Story of the Floating-castle, 1890), a poor Japanese young man, Kamii, happens to join a secret group, whose charismatic leader, Sakura, with supreme intelligence and morality, is scheming to conquer Central Africa not still assigned to any Western countries. The narrative covers their nautical adventure in the western Pacific on their way to the Indian Ocean. Through the adventure (and the narrative), Sakura as an idea of the perfect Japanese bourgeois (and as the idealised author) enlightens the protagonist Kamii as a young citizen (and the Japanese readers). This story represents a Japanese worldview in which scientific evolutionist discourse and mythical geography are juxtaposed. In the former the world is composed of three strata: civilised (Seiyo), half civilised (Toyo), and uncivilised (Nanyo); in the latter it is of the centre (Japan as the divine country) and its periphery (all the other countries). In the narrative, Japanese people's lack of enterprising spirit is presented as something to be ashamed of and

Japan's emerging from backwardness is acclaimed. Japan is differentiated from the other non-Western countries through its rapid modernisation. The story also argues the superiority of the Japanese to the Western people by taking pride in their essential valour as found in ancient myths. Nanyo is regarded as a suitable place to remove the disgrace attached to Japan by the West and to give full scope to the 'unique' abilities of the Japanese. Thus, the story is both an anti-colonialist and colonialist one. Such doubleness is common in the romantic *nanshin* stories.

Those stories do not optimistically glorify Japan's rapid modernisation and its 'manliness' but stress dissatisfaction with the status quo. In Suehiro's above-mentioned story *A Great Disturbance in the South Seas*, for example, the protagonist, a Japanese-descendant Manila man, the leader of an independent movement in the Philippines, asserts that: 'it is said Japan has been civilised rapidly, but the Japanese don't seem to have an enterprising spirit. [...] If Japan had a spirit to spread its wings overseas, [...] Japan's national flags would be hoisted in the South Sea Islands. No matter how much literary and artistic attainments it might obtain, without an enterprising spirit, it would not be able to maintain its independence in this keenly competitive world' (252). Yano's *The Story of the Floating-castle* expresses such dissatisfaction ironically. The protagonist Kamii listens to English people's whispered talk: 'Are the Japanese and the Chinese different just in hair style?' 'The Chinese are benign, and the Japanese valiant.' 'Is Japan a civilised country?' 'According to a geography book, it's still a half-civilised country, although it's being completely civilised recently.' An English woman says: 'The Japanese are all shrimps?' Kamii mocks at them inwardly, but also thinks, 'from now on, I will order a shoemaker to make the soles thicker and the heels higher' (Ryukei Yano 138-139).

In *nanshin* stories and reviews of those days, a sense of solidarity with and affection for other 'half-civilised' Asian peoples, rage against Western people's discourtesy and unjustness to them, and a sense of mission to liberate them were already depicted. But the Pacific islanders were often not the object of such attitudes, being regarded as too 'uncivilised' – '(former) cannibals' and 'the

lowest races' of the racial pyramid. In a Japanese view, through evolutionary theory, the islanders came to be fixed at the lowest rank in the East Asian world. They needed to be united with Japan as the pivot, and were fated to be colonised and 'improved' towards civility and culture. In Tsunenori Suzuki's *Nanyo Tanken Jikki* (The Record of Exploration in the South Seas, 1892) the Marshallese people are portrayed as akin to beasts and likened to fierce gods (*oni*) or Ainu (Tsunenori Suzuki 1980). Suzuki systematically described indigenous islanders' manners and customs, the natural features, flora and fauna, with many sketches, in his three principal works including *The Record of Exploration in the South Seas*, capitalising on the fact that the book was based on his own direct experience. Nevertheless, Jun Takayama points out that Suzuki fabricates in his books an ideal image of the South Seas by plagiarising records of castaways in the Edo period.

There was a reciprocal relationship between Suzuki's work, and Japan's official colonialism and people's economic concerns and curiosity vis-à-vis 'Nanyo', in both real activities and discourses. Suzuki embodied Japan's tendency to apply Western civilisation to Japan's domestic colonies in the north and extend that process to the overseas south. He learned the art of navigation as well as writing an exploration record of his visit to the Kurils by an English *rakko* (sea otter)-poaching boat. His record of this visit gave him an opportunity to be employed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1885, he was sent to the Marshall Islands to investigate the cause of a Japanese crew's disappearance. He demanded an apology from the chieftain of the island for the islanders' murder of the crew, and moreover, made him promise to put up the Rising-Sun flag in his house. Suzuki returned home in high spirits, but incurred then-Foreign Minister Kaoru Inoue's displeasure for the reason that his actions would irritate the Western powers. Suzuki was made to revisit the Marshalls to take down the flag and resigned his post at the Ministry in 1886. After that, he engaged in further South Sea expeditions. In 1887-1888, a round of visits to Iwo Jima, the Midway Islands, Christmas Island, etc. Japan was to take this expedition of his as a trigger into its occupation of Iwo Jima in 1891. In 1889-

1890, a visit to Hawai'i, Samoa, Fiji, Guam, and so on, taking passage in a naval training ship, the *Kongo*. In 1890, he participated in Ukichi Taguchi's (who was to be revered as a leading figure of *nanshin ron*) 'Nanto Shokai' (Southern Islands Trading Company) and its inspection tour of the Mariana and Caroline Islands by the *Tenryu Maru*. Thereafter, reduced to poverty, he consecutively published the above-mentioned three books following the trend of *nanshin* discourse: *Nanyo Tanken Jikki*, *Nanto Junkoki* (The Record of a Cruise in the South Islands, 1893), and *Nanyo Fubutsushi* (A Record of the Institutions and Customs in the South Seas, 1893) (Inoue and Suzuki 1942; Tsunenori Suzuki 1994). *Nanyo Tanken Jikki* is a record of his visit to the Marshalls in 1885 (Part 1) and to Hawai'i, Samoa, and Fiji by the *Kongo* (Part 2). *Nanto Junkoki*, written in diary form, is an account of the voyage of the *Tenryu Maru*. And *Nanyo Fubutsushi* contains his tours of 1887-1888.

Suzuki characteristically uses different styles in his works: active adventurism in depicting desert islands in the sea near Japan, the Marshall (before being owned by Germany), Mariana and Caroline Islands (feebly managed by Spain), and a wait-and-see attitude in reporting the situations of other islands which was under the Western great powers' rules. In *Nanyo Tanken Jikki*, Suzuki, out of fear and curiosity, makes tenacious efforts to investigate whether or not the Marshallese were cannibals, and likens his work to an adventure story, writing for example: 'most of the implements the natives use are goods of which they plundered castaways. [...] a dauntless person like Robinson could not sleep a peaceful sleep without the protection of the king of the island' (96). But in regard to Polynesians, he simply writes of their domestication by white colonisers and the supremacy of the latter. This work depicts the indigenous Fijians as ferocious and the Tahitians as gentle, which coincides with the dichotomy in European Pacific discourses. Its descriptions reflect Japan's expansionist policy towards the Pacific. The book, although representing the native people as 'savage' or 'uncivilised', emphasises their affection for the Japanese as an Asian, yellow 'race' and their animosity towards the white people.

In addition, Taguchi's preface to *Nanto Junkoki* says that the natives are (savages but) meek like infants (Inoue and Suzuki 29). As we will see in the next chapter, the colonised Micronesians were 'different but similar' to the Japanese in Japanese colonialist discourses, whether official or popular.

The text *Nanto Junkoki* not only urged and justified Japan's advance towards the Pacific but also was to have a crucial effect on its colonial policy when it occupied the German-owned Micronesia (Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls) during the First World War. According to a person concerned with the Navy at the time, *Nanto Junkoki* was 'the most detailed and reliable reference material' when the Navy investigated the situation of Micronesia (Kanjiro Hara, '*Nanto Junkoki* to Kaigun' [*The Record of a Cruise in the South Islands* and the Navy], Inoue and Suzuki 305).

Japan gained the first overseas colony, Taiwan, as a result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, which was to be the 'stronghold' to Japan's advance towards Micronesia (Goto). After that, its view of Micronesians as lower-class, childlike, well-disposed towards the Japanese but not towards the Western colonisers, as will be suggested in the next chapter, was to function as a discourse to fix the colonised as 'latent Japanese'. And as we will also see, such an imposed view produced its counterpart of constant anxiety as to both the natives' 'barbarity' and the Western people's 'cruelty' in the Pacific.

Notes

¹ However, there had been fragmented information. Narisue Tachibana's *Kokon Chomon Ju* (A Collection of Ancient and Modern Renowned Tales, 1254) briefly says that in 1171 the foreigners from the south who draft ashore to Oku-shima, Izu, had horrible figures (like *oni*, demon or fierce god) with reddish black skins, wearing only waistcloths, and having tattoos (Tachibana 17). From ancient times, the husk of coconuts washed ashore to Japan was used for the bowl. On articles cast ashore to Japan, see Ishii. And on knowledge about the world in the Edo period, see Ayusawa and Okubo.

² Johann Hübner, *De Staats- en Koeranten- tolk; of, Woordenboek der Geleerden en Orgeleerden* (1632), Pieter Goos, *Zee-Atlas* (1676). and so on.

³ Feeling the menace of Russia, Holland, and Britain, Tadao Shizuki, a scholar of Dutch studies in Nagasaki (then the only open port), wrote *Sakoku Ron* (Comments on National Isolationism, 1801), inquiring into Japan's identity through translating German medical doctor Engelbert Kämpfer's *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* (1777-1779).

⁴ Osakan medical doctor Ryoan Terashima's encyclopaedia *Wakan Sansai Zue* (An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Japan and China, 1713) mentions monsters originating in ancient Chinese geography books. The same monsters appear in natural historian Gennai Hiraga's story *Furyu Shidoken Den* (A Life of Shidoken the Vagabond, 1763).

⁵ Yamamura writes that Japan is a special country which has never experienced subjugation to foreigners (1058-1059). Mitsukuri defines Asia as 'the Continent of God' and depicts Japan as an empire equalling China and subjecting 'Ezo, Hachijo, Ryukyu, Okuezo, and Sakhalin' (1: 1).

⁶ Mitsukuri writes that he is incapable of judging whether to put the Caroline and Mariana Islands in Asia or Australasia (1: 32-33).

⁷ According to Tsukamoto, whereas Buddhist taboos of meat-eating led to fear of foreigners (*gaii*), the degree of those taboos varied according to the locality as well as the class. (There was a strong tendency to evade meat-eating in Western Japan.) Castaways, composed of sailors and fishermen, had some more taste for meat-eating (Tsukamoto 106-117).

⁸ The *Eiriki Maru*, which fifteen-year-old Hikoze was aboard, was cast away and the seventeen crew members were rescued and carried on to San Francisco by a US ship in 1850. On their way home Hikoze and other two turned back to the US, fearing difficulties of going home, and stayed in San Francisco until 1858. Hikoze received his education at a US school, came to believe in Catholicism, and became the first Japanese American. He stayed in Honolulu for four months on his way home before returning to Japan in 1859. Five fishermen including fourteen-year-old boy Manjiro, were shipwrecked in 1841 and lived on a desert island (Tori Shima Island) for about five months before they were picked up by a US whaling ship. Except for Manjiro, they stayed on Oahu, only Manjiro staying behind on the whaling ship as an apprentice seaman, which called at the Gilbert Islands, Guam, Samoa, etc. and arrived in Fairhaven in 1843. He stayed and had schooling in Fairhaven, and sailed out fishing again in 1846-1849, stopping at New Guinea, Honolulu, Guam, and so on. He left for home in 1850 and returned to Japan in 1852, eleven years after the shipwreck, together with two of the four fellow fishermen who had been in Honolulu. (As to the other two, one died of illness, and the other decided to stay behind in Hawai'i.)

⁹ It is suggested that the real writers were Ginka Kishida et al. (Tsuneo Yamashita 5: 336).

¹⁰ '[Manjiro] was abandoned by the American captain because of [Manjiro's] ill mind'. '[The unenlightened fishermen] are set to work like slaves in the brute country' (Tsuneo Yamashita 5: 258, 259).

¹¹ For example, one of the envoys, Somo Kato, writes, seeing American girls dancing, that their 'natural beautiful skin is, even without any help of make-up, whiter than snow and brighter than jewel' (Nichi Bei Shuko Tsusho Hyakunen Kinen Gyoji Uneikai 3: 100-101).

¹² In Monzaemon Chikamatsu's popular *yoruri* (dramatic narrative chanted to a *samisen* accompaniment), *Kokusenya Kassen* (The Battle of Kokusenya: first staged in 1715), the notion of Japan as a divine country and the Japanese under divine protection can be seen.

¹³ The system of training in ocean navigation of the Japanese Navy was first put into operation in the early Meiji era (1868-1912). In such navigation, some civilians were

allowed to go aboard, which contributed to the formation of the discourse of *nanshin* in the Meiji period. Shiga is typical of those civilian passengers who proposed *nanshin* (Toru Yano 1979, 14-15).

¹⁴ This emigration arose from surplus population, and the impoverishment of farmers and descendants of *samurai*, which resulted from the realignment of the customary economic and social ranking systems by the Meiji government. More increase of Japanese migrant workers over the seas commenced at the first official dispatch of emigrants into Hawai'i in 1885, and *joshi-gun* (women's corps: Japanese prostitutes) stowed away one after another.

Chapter 2

Nanshin and Nanyo-Orientalism

Japan's colonisation of Micronesia and official Nanyo-Orientalism in 'A Letter from Truk'

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 and its colonisation of the Korean Peninsula under the label of 'annexation' in 1910, Japan looked back to the 'south,' which had been seen with romantic enthusiasm. Such enthusiasm was aggrandised by Yosaburo Takekoshi's *Nangoku Ki* (An Account of Southern Countries) published in 1910, which argued the absurdity of *hokushin* (the policy of an advance into the northeast Asian continent), and enunciated *nanshin* (expansion southward) (Toru Yano 1975, 59-64). Japan, from the strategic point of view, was interested in the South Sea Islands (Micronesia). These islands then belonged to Germany, except for Guam, which was ceded to the US by Spain in 1899 after the Spanish-American War. Taking advantage of the outbreak of World War One, the Japanese Navy captured those islands north of the equator in 1914. From that time onwards the islands such as Jaluit, Ponape, Truk, Palau, Yap, and Saipan, were to be under the rule of Japan up to 1945. Directly after the arrival of the Japanese Navy in 1914, it closed down the mission schools in the islands. It began founding schools to introduce Micronesian youth to Japanese culture through language training and moral education, with stress on filial piety, obedience to authority, and so on (Peattie 91). After the War, in 1920 Japan and the other countries concerned with the old German-owned Micronesia – the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia,

and New Zealand – met each other halfway: the territory was put under Japan's mandatory administration in exchange for its allegiance to the League of Nations.

In 1920 – immediately after old German-owned Micronesia, called *Nanyo gunto* (the South Sea Islands, consisting of the Marianas, the Caroline Islands, and the Marshall Islands) was put under Japan as a mandated territory – the Japanese government-designated Japanese-textbook for schoolchildren (*Jinjo Shogaku Kokugo Tokuhon*) introduced Micronesia into its geographical teaching materials. In the teaching material in epistolary form, entitled 'Torakku-to Dayori' (A Letter from Truk), the addresser *ojisan* (Uncle), who has been in the Truk Islands for three months, conveys the climate, vegetation, undersea scenery, and indigenous people, to his nephew, Matsutaro. Its writer, Ichinosuke Takagi, a scholar of Japanese literature and then functionary in the Ministry of Education, reminisces in 1976 about the article with displeasure:

It is an essay I wrote without visiting the spot. Having nothing but a guidebook to the islands [...] to go on. I wished above all to convey to schoolchildren the singularity of their plants and beauty of their tropical nature. [...] Crucially, however, we had never had or even seen coconuts or breadfruits. So, it was quite difficult to describe them with gusto and keen beauty. I dimly remember consulting an illustrated botanical book and so on, one of the backstage conditions of textbook-making on a strict budget. (Takagi 89)

'A Letter from Truk' represents some stereotyped Nanyo images as the 'other' in brief: 'novel' vegetation such as coconuts and breadfruits (a 'fresh green world'), a 'picturesque' atoll with varicoloured fish (a 'fairy-tale world'), and 'uncivilised,' 'child(like)' natives. The natives are tamed and domesticated under Japanese colonial policy. Moreover, judging from Takagi's comment that he 'wished above all to convey to schoolchildren the singularity of their plants and beauty of their tropical nature' (88), the addressee Matsutaro can be assumed to be a schoolboy. So, in 'A Letter from Truk', Matsutaro and the native girl singing

Kimigayo can be regarded as a couplet as the male coloniser and the female colonised. And the addresser *oji* (叔父), a younger brother of a schoolboy's parent, can be supposed to be a young man, which makes the uncle take on the aspect of a spirited young adventurer. The text, therefore, is a typical representation of exoticism, primitivism, aestheticism, colonialism, sexual images, and adventure, vis-à-vis Nanyo – in a word, Nanyo-Orientalism.

Not only that, in 'A Letter from Truk', Japan's assimilationism is expressed: the native is described as a 'different but similar' being. The text says:

Though not still civilised enough, 'dojin [the natives]' are so meek as to take kindly to us. Especially because our country has recently established schools here and there, the native children are quite good Japanese speakers. It happened just the other day that I saw a girl about ten years old singing 'Kimigayo' [the Japanese national anthem]. (89; my emphasis)

Thus, in its representation of the native colonised, the text stresses the extent to which they are similar to the Japanese coloniser rather than how they are others to him. It relieves Japanese youngsters of their anxiety about 'savages' without erasing native alterity, thereby still arousing those readers' curiosity. In doing so, it celebrates Japan's colonial policy to assimilate them. As we will see in detail, Japanese popular tropes on Nanyo, official or unofficial, in the colonial period, have this propensity to represent the indigenous people as 'different but similar'. The Nanyo-cho (South Seas Government; the agency of Japanese rule in the South Sea Islands established in Koror, Palau, in 1922) regarded Micronesians as intellectually inferior by nature but, at the same time, as educated nearly like Japanese children – different but similar:

[...] the islanders' intellectual progress is extremely slow. *But*, regarding the results of our education since the inauguration of our rule, we could admit the fact that native children have considerably developed in their memory and understanding.

especially well at arts and crafts. *Although* they are primitive in numerical notion. at least in their mental development at school there is no disparity between native children and those from the main islands of Japan. (Nanyo-cho 1931, 60; My emphasis)¹

On his depiction of the native, Takagi confesses that this ‘unnatural add-on’ description of ‘dojin’ is ‘ideological’, ‘dogmatic’ and ‘far from realism’ (90).² Nevertheless, his ‘different but similar’ native girl (amiable close other) was to be depicted repeatedly as a real image, mutually resonating with other governmental representations.

In addition to such colonialist desire, ‘A Letter from Truk’ suggests some colonialist anxiety. In the text, the addresser of the ‘letter’ repeatedly attempts to relieve its addressee by saying: ‘I am glad to tell you that I am making a tour of the islands in good health as usual’, ‘[...] unexpectedly [these islands] seem quite easy to live on. Besides, as the whole neighbourhood islands are under our country’s rule, and there are many immigrants from *naichi* [the main islands of Japan], I do not feel lonely in the least’ (87). This emphasis of physical and mental security reveals the uneasiness in travelling out of ‘*naichi*’ to ‘*gaichi*’ (the overseas territories of Japan). Uncle’s words suggest how closely Nanyo had been associated with torrid heat, endemic diseases, and solitude. What is important is that such realistic anxiety is expressed implicitly, juxtaposed and mitigated with optimistic colonialist fantasy. In this sense the text is realistic despite the ‘lack of reality’ in the descriptions of coconuts and natives as Takagi regrets. Japan’s colonial dominance in Micronesia is justified for the salvation of a Japanese traveller from loneliness.

Japanese immigration into Micronesia correlated closely with its commercial and industrial development. Haruji Matsue’s establishment of a sugar company, the Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha (Nanko or NKK; South Seas Development Company) in 1921 and introduction of Japanese immigrants (especially Okinawans) as contract labours in and around the Marianas, was a notable beginning for the mass influx of Japanese immigrants (Peattie 155-160).

In 1920, when Takagi wrote 'A Letter from Truk', there were still not so many Japanese immigrants that a traveller could go there and take it for granted that he or she would 'not feel lonely in the least'.³

The description of indigenous people Takagi added on at the end of the text (in his word, 'unnaturally') also implies colonialist ambivalence. Minato Kawamura pays attention only to the negative aspect, which 'implanted the picture of "still not civilised" "dojin"' into 'young subjects of the Japanese Empire' (1994, 28). Thus the text is seen as conforming to Said's 'Orientalist' subordination of colonised to colonial superiority. But Takagi's remorseful reflection on the 'unnatural' nature of his addendum shows that this is not the whole story. The last part of the text, as we have seen, depicts the mild disposition of the natives in a positive way and makes evident the processes of Japanese assimilationism. To put it the other way around, beneath this triumphalist narration lurks a colonialist anxiety that the colonised might still be 'savages' likely to rise in revolt at any moment as they did under the rule of Spain. What we should keep in mind is that the structural conflict between fear and desire is managed by artificially creating nearly identical – different but quite similar – space in which the peaceful Japanisation relies on an inverse dynamic to Western colonial representations of brown-white race relations.

The teaching material 'A Letter from Truk' as a tool of Japan's state policy, suggests how anxieties and desires are twisted into colonialist discourse. The preconceptions of torrid heat, endemic diseases, solitude, and ferocious, defiant savages are denied (but can be read). For this anxious, disturbing image, the text substitutes a more desirable one – different (a fresh green world with novel vegetation, a fairy-tale beautiful undersea scenery, and uncivilised natives) but quite domesticated (many Japanese immigrants, and meek, docile, Japanese-speaking natives) – that can be regarded as the then official, normative, orthodox Nanyo image of book-learned Japanese people. Furthermore, we can see in the writer's reminiscences of the text how persistently this Nanyo-Orientalism has been functioning as a buffer for the Japanese coloniser to forget or screen some sort of guilt feeling towards his participation in Japan's colonial

policy.

Dankichi's popular Nanyo-Orientalism

The narrative structure of this short piece, despite its writer with no local experience, turns out to be an epitome of Japanese authoritative discourse on Micronesia as part of Japanese territory. A guidebook to Micronesia, entitled *Waga Tokonatsu no Kuni* (Our Land of Everlasting Summer), published in 1931, was edited for the purpose of serving as a teaching material as well as a travellers' guide, referring to the Nanyo-cho's publications and its writer's experience in Micronesia. It expresses Micronesia and its inhabitants as 'unexpected' – unexpectedly it is not very hot, unexpectedly there are not any fierce animals, poisonous snakes, or man-eaters, unexpectedly the islands are evocative of Japan's countryside, and unexpectedly the natives are kind and gentle, resemble the Japanese in skin colour and build, and speak Japanese (Hashimoto 177-178). This means how deep-rooted were in the Japanese populace such expectations of Micronesia as torrid heat, fierce animals, poisonous snakes, and man-eating, queer people, that is, images of Micronesia and its populations as 'different'. In addition, the guidebook warns readers not to be 'get-rich-quick schemers' ignoring actual hardships (200). This warning shows a popular expectation of adventure. These deep-rooted images were not to be erased but provided with a proviso: Micronesia and its people are fundamentally or originally 'different' and 'perilous' but seemingly 'similar' and 'paradisiacal'. This view of Micronesia was to be clearly depicted in Keizo Shimada's cartoon story *Boken Dankichi* (Dankichi the Adventurous).

While 'A Letter from Truk', as material from the government-designated textbook programme, represents the orthodox and official Nanyo image, *Dankichi* is the representative of unofficial Nanyo discourses. As we will see later, in this popular version of Nanyo image, what is masked in 'A Letter from Truk' is disclosed. *Dankichi* had a 'box office' status in the most popular boys' magazine of those days, *Shonen Kurabu* (Boys' Club, which had emerged in

1914), serialised for as long as six years from 1933 to 1939. *Dankichi* drew on popular Nanyo discourses and set up a powerful stereotype, giving rise to a phenomenon which Toru Yano calls 'Boken Dankichi syndrome' (1979, 154).

Dankichi had its social and political background. According to *Dankichi*'s author Shimada's retrospective essay (1967), *Dankichi* is the development of his 'dream' since his boyhood: 'the cloud-like boundless expanse of the desire for becoming a king on a south, not cold island, say, a desert island ... attended by sorts of animals as followers ... free from care about money ... and from homework' (Keizo Shimada, '*Boken Dankichi no Koto*' [On *Boken Dankichi*], Shimada 1976, 2: 186). He goes on to note: 'At the time, *Nanyo shoto* [the South Sea Islands] was Japan's mandated territory, and *nanshin ron* [the discourse of southward advance] was being put into practice in the form of the developing of the South Seas: all the Japanese people turned their eyes into the south. So, the setting of "a South Sea island" was most suitable for the adventures of Dankichi [the juvenile hero]' (2: 186). *Dankichi* reflected in content Japan's colonial policy and expansionism of those days, launched and propelled by, and making a great contribution to, the upsurge of the *nanshin* boom during the 1930s.

Just as in the 1910s, such a public gaze towards the 'south' followed the interest in the 'north': the Manchurian Incident and the establishment of the Manchurian candidate in 1931. (Corresponding to this shift of people's interest from the 'north' to the 'south', *Dankichi* appeared in rivalry with Suiho Tagawa's very popular cartoon *Norakuro* [1931-1941] with the backdrop of Japan's northward advance, which had also been serialised in *Shonen Kurabu* since 1931.) Even after Japan's secession from the League of Nations in 1933, the Japanese Government did not renounce its claim to Micronesia. According to Yano, compared with 1910s' practical, utilitarian *nanshin ron* boom with the eco-political context of the start of Japan's rule over Micronesia and the formation of private trading capital in Southeast Asia against the War boom, that rage in 1930s' was more sensationalistic, deterministic, and nationalistic under the 1930s' acute depression. *Nanshin* – to advance southwards to Southeast Asia (*soto-* or *omote-Nanyo*, the exterior South Seas), using

Micronesia (*uchi-* or *ura-Nanyo*, the interior South Seas) as a springboard – began to emerge as a national policy. Menaced by the expansion of the US Navy, the Japanese Navy raised *nanshin* as its staple policy in the mid-1930s for the first time, although there had already appeared proponents of *nanshin* from the Navy since the 1910s, such as Shizuo Matsuoka, younger brother of the prominent ethnologist Kunio Yanagita. Among the general public, following 1910s' *nanshin ron* boom and its dying down, such a craze revived expressly in the late 1930s, prefaced by Koshin Murobuse's book *Nanshin Ron* (1936), which stirred up *nanshin*, dealing with it deterministically as a 'Japanese national mission' and a 'historical promise' (Toru Yano 1975, 150-152).

In the conception of *Dankichi* quoted above, there is no room for consideration of there being indigenous people in the South Sea Islands. The south island its author admired was a peopleless island filled with animals and materials. But in *Dankichi* it is indigenous people, not only animals, that are subjected to the Japanese boy Dankichi. In spite of its reference to Japan's rule over the South Sea Islands, the essay only mentions the material development of the South Seas by Japanese people. It is only islands, animals, natural provisions, and Japanese people utilising and developing them that the conception of *Dankichi* contains. Namely his disregard of the people made both romanticism and realism compatible.

In the essay, Shimada confesses:

I had a preconception that "the south tropical region is a place roved by beasts and wild birds in jungles and inhabited by black headhunters", and proceeded with the story to suit my vision. Thus the story could not help [being fantastical]: animals from Africa, India, South America, Borneo, and so on, were jumbled together, and after several series, the author himself was unable to locate the Island of Dankichi.
(1976, 2: 186-187)

Dankichi gathers elephants, giraffes, lions, crocodiles, camels, orangutans, turtles, dragons, dinosaurs, etc. – all the things possibly suggestive of 'the

tropics' and 'the uncivilised' – in a southern island, transgressing geographical conditions. Such a vague, incorrect representation led to children's playing 'make-believe based on Dankichi' in those days (2: 187).

The writer's attachment to his fantastic dream and unrealistic preconception are redeemed and justified by accentuating the authenticity and verisimilitude of his work. According to the essay, he investigated the ecology of animals in zoos at the time. He could produce an effect of authenticity by grounding his characters on accepted discursive expectations of others. This inaccurate Nanyo stands as its 'reality' for Japanese people. As Edward Said points out, although the Orient's contrived 'reality' is not 'an inert fact of nature' but 'man-made', this creation is not out of touch with the world (1995, 4-5).

There seems to be several reasons for *Dankichi's* popularity. First, unlike its rival *Norakuro* or today's comic strip, *Dankichi* is an illustrated cartoon story, each illustration having explanations – a rather idiosyncratic form,⁴ and secondly, it has the common touch with simple illustrations easy to draw and in a humorous style. Third, it is an adventure story taking over the Western and Japanese tradition of the romance like *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Coral Island*, *Treasure Island*, *Tarzan*, and Yoichiro Minami's *Hoeru Mitsurin* (The Roaring Jungles). The last and most important reason is that it unites both romanticism and realism. As mentioned above, on the one hand, it is set in an imaginary, fantastic southern island gorged with all sorts of things evocative of the idea of the 'tropics', where Dankichi becomes a king and makes thrilling and pleasurable expeditions, having a number of native people and animals in tow. But on the other hand, Dankichi is not portrayed as a preternatural human being but as an average Japanese schoolboy. Despite its dreamscape, *Dankichi* reflected the times of Japanese people's southward advance and Japan's exploiting and Japanising of Micronesia. It was not so far-fetched that the young audience could not see it as a viable future for themselves.

Japan's rule over Micronesia and Dankichi

Then, what is the relationship between Japan's actual ruling over its Micronesian colonies and Dankichi's reigning over his south island? In Micronesia, after the changeover from the military to the civil administration, the agency of Japanese rule in Micronesia – the Nanyo-cho (South Seas Government) – was established on Koror in the Palau Islands in 1922. The Nanyo-cho strove to modernise Micronesia, planting schools, hospitals, wharves, research institutes, and so on. The smallest unit of the administrative organisation, the police, played a large role all over Micronesia: the embodiment of Japan's colonial rule, vested with broad authority of levy, sanitary regulation, public relations, surveillance of road construction, etc. as well as police work. Micronesian constables, partly trained in the Japanese language and police work, assisted Japanese policemen. In each island there existed traditional unique leadership under the rigorous supervision of Japanese police. In 1922 the Nanyo-cho promulgated its *Nanyo Gunto Tomin Sonri Kitei* (Rules for Native Village Officials) modelled on the village system in *naichi*, to infallibly phase out the conventional authority of tribal chiefs. They were incorporated into the bureaucratic structure of Japanese colonial rule, no longer the privileged leaders (Peattie 68-77).

Micronesian school-age youngsters were all placed under an obligation to enter the public schools, *kogakko*, established by the Nanyo-cho, putting stress on the education of the Japanese language, Japanese moral sense, and Japanese history. While the children of Japanese immigrants went into the primary schools, *shogakko*, and could proceed to schools of higher grade, basically, Micronesian children were only permitted to receive elementary education on a lower level. On the basic premise that they were inferior in intellect, they trained only for domestic service (Peattie 91-95).

The Nanyo-cho founded hospitals and organised medical teams to be dispatched to out-of-the-way islands. But the upsurge of Japanese immigrants led to the substantial deterioration of the medical service the Nanyo-cho

provided for Micronesian people: the fall in native population since the early nineteenth-century contact with European people, was far from being stanchd (Peattie 86-90).

In the late 1930s, the economic development in Micronesia, spearheaded by the Nanyo Boeki Kaisha or Nanbo (NBK; South Seas Trading Company, established in 1908), the Nanko, and the Nanyo Takushoku Kaisha or Nantaku (South Seas Colonisation Corporation, founded in 1936), reached its zenith. Under this prosperity, Japan's rule ostensibly gripped Micronesian people through its propulsion of moral education, its encouragement of national Shinto, its promotion of the activity of the *seinendan* 'youth groups' among young Micronesian men and women, the inspection tours to *naichi* sponsored by the Nanyo-cho, and so forth. There were elite Micronesians, who enjoyed wealth as lower officials, or who married Japanese men. Such marriages of Japanese men and Micronesian women were encouraged by the Nanyo-cho, aiming at the Japanising of Micronesian women and their families. The children of those Japanese and Micronesian couples were privileged to receive their education at *shogakko* together with the youngsters of Japanese immigrants. While the watchword of 'the merciful, philanthropic Japan Empire' was cast all over Japan's colonies, the Micronesians were fixed at the lowest strata of the subjects in the Japan Empire, discriminated socially and economically (Peattie 103-112, 219-220).

Seemingly, Japanese colonial control over Micronesia did not suffer from native people's opposition, Japanese people's complaints, or foreigners' criticism (Peattie 77-80). But we are able to see in Japanese journalist Fumio Nonaka's popular reportage published in 1934-39 that there existed incongruous and disaffected voices in Micronesia. He writes that 'Kanakas complain that it is painful for them to have to work since the Japanese settled here [in Micronesia]. For them the crash of a hammer and the explosion of an engine are devils destroying their peaceful dreams' (82). He also criticises the education of the islanders for not accommodating itself to their unique human nature and mentality (68). These problems are, however, in the shade of his boastful

description of Kanakas hankering for the Japanese and agitation of southward advance as a Japanese mission.

The then American journalist Willard Price hints at his apprehension for Japan's expansion and discontent about its developing Micronesia in his book published in 1936 in London, New York, and Tokyo:

The truth is that the East is in a state of high tension. Let a Japanese general so much as tweak his moustache and a tremor runs down the spine of Asia from Vladivostok to Melbourne. [...] Japan is performing her mission [to bind the entire East together in one heart and one mind]. [...] Removed from general view, this equatorial Japan presents remarkable contrasts. Within the mandate is probably the most primitive island in the entire Pacific. Yap furnishes an opportunity to study the Stone Age in this age – the last chance in the Pacific. Other islands reveal the Pacific of to-morrow, the scene of great industrialisation and of profound strategic significance to the future of Asia. (xiii)

The colonial policy of the Nanyo-cho took its stand on the anxiety as to the 'now docile but intrinsically truculent' natives and their once dogged resistance to Spanish and German 'tyranny' (Nanyo-cho 1931, 63).⁵ Therefore, the Nanyo-cho's policy – or Japanese colonialism – was obliged to take on the character of conciliatory oppression over indigenous people with the emphasis of its difference from Western colonialism. Such colonialist anxiety about their 'intrinsic truculence' and possible resistance justified the oppression of them. At the same time, Japanese colonisers controlled them under the pretext of 'philanthropy', at once contradictorily attempting to differentiate themselves from Western counterparts whom they had been emulating, and to assimilate the Pacific colonised whom they looked on as intellectually and morally inferior to themselves. This attempt is reflected, for instance, in Price's account on native people:

"Would you prefer to have the Germans back?" I asked.

"No. We prefer the Japanese."

"Why?"

"Because they belong in the Orient. They understand us better. We are not afraid of them. They are more like us."

One said: "The Germans told us, 'Do this or go to jail!' The Japanese say, 'Are we asking anything unreasonable of you?'"

[...]

"Then if you don't want the Germans, how about the Spaniards?"

This question usually met with only a horrified silence. The brutalities of Spain in the South Seas will never be forgotten.

"How about the English or the Americans?" I would ask, assuming that they would give me the courtesy of a favourable reply. But the Anglo-Saxons they best remembered were whalers who had brought plagues, kidnapped their women and raised hob generally. No, they would not care to be ruled by them.

"Then how would you like to rule yourselves?"

A Ponape chief said: "That would never do. When we ruled ourselves, every chief was at war with every other. It is better to have some higher authority."

From all of which it would seem that, making allowance for the dislike of human beings for any control over their actions, the rule of Japan is as satisfactory as any could be. (303-304)

In *Dankichi* the dread of natives, which is only read between the lines in 'A Letter from Truk', is expressed clearly. Japanese schoolboy Dankichi, fishing in a small boat with his friend and brainy advisor, Kariko, a black mouse, falls into a slumber and finds himself cast away on a southern tropical island. Dankichi and Kariko find on the island no lack of food such as coconuts, breadfruits, pineapples, bananas, etc., chased by a monster bird and a lion, and making a bow as Robinson Crusoe does. Immediately after that, they run into jet-black native people with long spears wearing only grass skirts, unlike Crusoe who encounters natives after his nine-year solitude on an island. As with Crusoe in the Caribbean, Kariko, Dankichi's clever companion, expects that the natives

are man-eaters, and the two successfully run away from them. Those people turn out to be feared as cannibals by headhunters in the next village. Thus, unlike *The Coral Island's* juvenile heroes who see the horrible scene of cannibalism with their own eyes, and even unlike Crusoe or *Typee's* Tommo believing firmly that he is a witness to the traces of cannibalism, Dankichi does not witness the scene of, or even the traces of, anthropophagy. In *Dankichi* 'cannibalism' is merely a signifier connoting the enunciator's terror and intention to construct a firm cultural boundary between the civilised and barbarous (Arens).

Dankichi's omniscient narrator repeats and emphasises three points on the protagonist boy: Dankichi is valiant, benevolent, and a Japanese. Adventurous incidents unfurled one after another such as big-game hunting, skirmishes with tribes, and a battle with white pirates, brings Dankichi's valour into prominence. However, these adventures can have no conclusion until he subordinates the natives to himself. As I mentioned earlier, *Dankichi* does not describe the protagonist as a superman; brave as he is, he cannot do anything by himself. So, he is always attended by Kariko, and needs the assistance of native people. *Dankichi* presents this as reasonable and inevitable. After encountering, and escaping from, native people whom he has thought to be 'cannibals', Dankichi disguises himself as a *kuronbo*, black person (literally, black boy) by bemiring his whole body to get on well with the chief. But his efforts to form a friendship with the chief and his people are in vain because of a sudden shower 'peculiar to the tropics' which washes the mud from his body. His camouflage actually offends the chief, and he comes under attack, but Dankichi inversely captures him and releases him in exchange for his crown. It seems to Dankichi that the crown he has taken from the chief warrants his social dominance over native people, but, needless to say, it is powerless over animals: he has a few narrow escapes from savage beasts' attacks, always scared of them just as he has been of 'cannibals'. In addition, the crown is of no effect even for natives. When Dankichi saves a native child from a big gorilla, the child's father, taking him for a kidnapper, catches him to sacrifice him in his tribe's headhunting rite.

At the last moment, the chief and his men whom Dankichi has once met happen to pass by, and the headhunters run for their lives, shouting 'the cannibals from the next village have come!': importantly this testimony confirms Dankichi's assumption that they are cannibals. Although taken prisoners by the 'cannibals' bearing a grudge against him, Dankichi successfully knocks them down with the help of Kariko, but cares for the chief who has fainted. Deeply touched by Dankichi's benevolence, the chief and his people voluntarily come to serve him.

In *Dankichi* this colonialist illusion – the voluntary obedience of the colonised to the coloniser – occurs as the result of the headhunters' bigotry, and the coloniser protagonists' courage and compassion. It is vindicated by the animals' and natives' dangerous ferocity and by the colonialist terror of the colonial savage. In *Dankichi* Dankichi's attack to them are justified and theirs to him unpardonable.⁶ For Dankichi, the native people, stigmatised as 'cannibals,' that is, given the highest alterity, are most instrumental once gained over. Moreover, it is not because of his bravery or intelligence, but his sympathetic benevolence that they obey him. Just after the 'cannibals' grovel before Dankichi, the narrator begins to term them *kuronbo*, a term functioning in *Dankichi* as a signifier representing humanised savages. The *kuronbo*, childish naïve retainers, never betray their master because they have not succumbed to his coercive violence but have been captivated by his gentleness, and cowed by his implied intellectual superiority.

As 'A Letter from Truk', *Dankichi* also describes the island and its natives as 'different but fairly similar.' Too lazy to memorise the natives' names ('Banana,' 'Pain' [Pine], 'Pan' [Bread], 'Binro' [Areca], and 'Yashi' [Palm]), Dankichi draws a number on each of their torsos. Dankichi militarises some natives as 'the Guards', establishes a primary school to teach them the Japanese language, conquers other tribes to absorb them into his empire, explores the interior with the guardsmen to hoist the Rising-Sun flag, organises a fire-fighting team, and founds a hospital, a railway, a bank, and a post office, all for the sake of the islanders' peace and happiness. This reflects the actual policies of the time. As mentioned earlier, the Nanyo-cho (South Seas Government)

established schools (*kogakko*, public schools for native children), hospitals, railways, post offices and so on (but not any banks). Japanese policemen, having wide powers, reigned over the villages as 'kings'. Micronesian constables supported Japanese policemen (just like Dankichi's guardsmen). The traditional power of tribal chiefs was co-opted into the machinery of colonial government. At *kogakko* Micronesian children were educated uniformly, indoctrinated with the Japanese language and Japanese morals.

It is quite easy to point out *Dankichi's* racism, militarism, colonialism, and assimilationism. But it is not my primary purpose here. What distinguishes these stories is the benign personalism involved, rather than outright military or economic power. Dankichi keeps almost intact the nature and natural beauty of the island he names 'Dankich-jima', the Island of Dankichi, except setting up a palace, a school, a hospital, a fire tower, and so forth put together at its centre. For him the menace of wild animals is not completely eradicated. Likewise, the *kuronbo's* appearances are modified only with white numbers on their bellies. (He changes his appearance to the same style as the natives' just in a grass skirt, which simultaneously counterpoints the difference of skin colour.) For him they are always childish and simple-minded as their names indicate. Basically, the island is of a different nature for him. Dankichi domesticates, modernises and Japanises the island and its people partially, building a school, a hospital, etc., harnessing giraffes, elephants, and crocodiles to transport, tanks, and warships, disciplining the people, and giving them lessons in Japanese. The narrator triumphantly narrates in the scenes of combat with other tribes or white pirates, that in consequence of the edification of the natives by Dankichi, they never kill the enemies recklessly. For Dankichi, Dankichi Island is a locale assimilated not quite but so moderately as to be agreeable to his exoticism and primitivism.

This ambivalent imagery or discourse of 'different *but* similar,' 'not quite *but* moderately desirable' Nanyo was reproduced over and over again among the common Japanese people at that time. The following song, *Shucho no Musume* (The Daughter of the Village Chief; lyrics and music by Hitomatsu Ishida) was one of the most popular songs, recorded on Polydor records in 1930 (Ishida wrote

it in 1925 and later arranged it for the popular song):

Watashi no raba-san shucho no musume

Iro wa kuroi ga Nanyo ja bijin

Sekido chokka Masharu-gunto

Yashi no kokage de tekuteku odoru. (Kawamura 1994, 88)

My sweetheart is the daughter of a village chief

She's dark, *but* in the South Seas, she's a beauty

In the Marshall Islands, right on the equator

She keeps dancing slowly in the shade of the palm trees. (My emphasis)

Just as in *Dankichi* the geographical error concerning the location of the Marshall Islands is passed without remark under the cloak of stereotyped tropical images. They are in the 'South Seas' from a Japanese viewpoint. In the song, the daughter is 'dark' (different, undesirable) *but* in the South Seas, a 'beauty' (tolerably desirable). It is obvious how the show of affection accords with the friendly superiority of Japanese rule.

In addition, in 1933 a film entitled 'Umi no Seimei Sen: Waga Nanyo Gunto' (The Maritime Lifeline: Our South Sea Islands) was produced under the auspices of the Department of the Navy (directed by Chuzo Aoji, and sponsored by the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi*, both newspaper publishing companies). Screened at picture theatres as well as primary schools, this documentary feature film, shot using what was then the highest technology, became a national success. Fumio Nonaka confesses that he was driven to travel in Micronesia as a result of watching this film (6). The film does not focus on scenes of the regions like Palau in which many Japanese immigrants live and modernistically designed buildings are clustered, but on tropical scenic beauty, seminude native people (Kanaka), and their history, manners and customs – crocodile hunting, canoeing, huge stone 'coins', native children speaking Japanese, and native female weavers singing a Japanese song: Nanyo as a

different but similar place. (The greater part of the explanation of its history is spared for the time after Spain's colonisation of it.) Eulogising the alterity and the similarity simultaneously – this contradiction holds only by concealing the fact of overwhelming Japanisation and exploitation and by unconcern about islanders. Such ambivalent Nanyo images, mutually resonant in the textbook, the cartoon story, the popular song, and the feature film, were rationalised and naturalised for the Japanese masses.

Besides cannibalism and the binary opposition of civilisation/savage, in *Dankichi* another essentialist, manichaeian discourse operates to construct the boundary of self/other: the difference between the Japanese and the white coloniser. Some white pirates living on a neighbouring island, the Island of Pirates, appear in front of Dankichi, disguised as lions to steal his treasures such as elephant tusks, just as he has once presented himself in the disguise of a black man before the native chief. Because he conversely runs away with their treasure from their island, a brush fire escalates into a war, in which the Dankichi force, formed by the natives riding on elephants, overwhelms the pirates armed with guns, due to the staff officer Kariko's clever strategy. Despite this symmetry, in the confrontation Dankichi is always right and the white pirates evil. The ground separating the sides is that although the pirates attempt to kill him, Dankichi (with his men) captures and sets them free, or that although both are equal in valour and intelligence, Japanese boy Dankichi is benevolent. Dankichi is also distinguished from the white characters by his indigenised dress. From the viewpoint of white people, he belongs to the 'uncivilised'. In *Dankichi*, however, he is superior to white people in spirit, and more belonging to the island, while white people, appearing occasionally, are invariably depicted as arrogant, heartless, powerful, and defeated.

As mentioned above, the Nanyo-cho self-deceitfully declared that, in contrast with Spanish and German colonial oppressors pursuing their own interests, Japanese colonisers attempted to improve the islanders' living conditions. Fumio Nonaka denounced the atrocity of all the white domination in colonial worlds (11).

Even after avoiding being literally swallowed by 'cannibals', by turning them into liegemen depicted fixedly as inferior, Dankichi still needs to be distinguished from them to avoid being swallowed metaphorically. He cannot help coming up against the problem of going native. Indeed, his being naked in a grass skirt and the lord and vassal solidarity in some adventurous incidents, especially the battle with clothed white pirates, prompt him and the *kuronbo* to be categorised as one. His benevolence is, held in common with them through their domestication, no longer a clear difference between the two sides. So, to correct the situational change and identity oscillation, the narrator occasionally attempts to remind readers that Dankichi is a Japanese. Dankichi goes up the bush to put up the national flag of Japan with some native attendants selected at a *sumo* tournament. However strong a sense of solidarity with them he feels, Dankichi is seized with an indelible nostalgic loneliness. (If he resides permanently on the island, he would either have to go native or to become neurotic.) In the end he returns home by raft to study more in Japan after erecting his wooden statue and abdicating the throne in favour of the number one *kuronbo*, the ex-chief.

Thus, the colonialist trepidation and anxiety of indigenisation (which could include cannibalisation) makes this colonialist quest story ambiguous. The Japanese colonialist desire to civilise indigenous people and maintain them as different but fairly similar inferiors, and simultaneously to lay stress on his difference from the white coloniser and on his cooperation with the colonised – the desire results in obscuring the border between the coloniser and the colonised. This adventure story of a valiant and tender-hearted boy's attempt to assimilate the others turns out to be a horror story of his resistance against being assimilated by them. In *Dankichi* these precariousness and contradiction of the Japanese colonialist project are overcome by repeating and emphasising his 'being a Japanese'.⁷

The anxiety of indigenisation also arises from the fact that, contradictorily, Dankichi depends on the native people whom he regards as childish and indebted to himself. Although he takes it into his head, and the narrator repeats,

that Dankichi is protected by the grace of 'God' and the islanders are by that of their king Dankichi, it is on the strength of the islanders that Dankichi can repulse beasts of prey, other native tribes, white pirates, all attempting to bear him off, and can mollify his homesickness. But this ambivalence, the guardian coloniser's dependence on the ward colonised, is blurred by the existence of black mouse Kariko, Dankichi's clever companion, who belongs to neither the coloniser nor the colonised, and who assumes a character of both a part of his and an individual. Kariko, for example, calls backstage on the *kuronbo* to disguise themselves as Dankichi's parents in order to cheer up their master struck with nostalgia, and Dankichi does not notice this toil of his men. It is by dint of Kariko that Dankichi can be indifferent to his reliance on the indigenous people.

Misgivings about indigenisation in Micronesia were deep in Japanese mind at that time. Fumio Nonaka writes in his travel writing in anger and with grief of Okinawans living below the floor of a native house, despised as 'Japanese Kanakas' by Kanakas, who were regarded as 'inferior race' to Chamorros. 'I hope them [Okinawans] to keep up self-respect and appearances as Japanese' (18). He also reports that the tropical paradisiacal milieu makes Japanese people 'as empty-headed as Kanakas' and that some Japanese are entirely indigenised, 'looking no better than the dead in terms of human value' (59, 97).

Dankichi's indigenisation is held in check by virtue of an incantation that he is a Japanese. From the viewpoint of the indigenous people, he is also 'different but considerably similar.' As bare as them, he is, from start to finish, clothed with manifest differences from them: the white skin (the narrator dubs him 'shironbo', white boy), a wristwatch on his left hand, shoes, and a crown. These signs are, however, all ambivalent: the white skin suggests difference and vulnerability; the watch signifies superior technology as well as being superfluous on the timeless island; the shoes indicates good manners and fragility; the crown denotes superiority, but it is a *native* crown and comes from the West. And these signs are all associated with Western values. His outward

differences, acquired by likening him to a white person and through partial, advantageous Westernisation and indigenisation, prove to be borrowed plumes and helpless to perpetuate the difference between him and his servants, which is the major premise in Japanese colonialist discourse (the colonised different from *but* quite similar to the coloniser).

Showing Japanese colonialist desire and anxiety simultaneously, *Dankichi* has a contradictory, ambivalent, schizophrenic structure. Presupposing the difference between the indigenous people and the Japanese protagonist, it emphasises the Japanisation of the people, conserving their otherness. On the other hand, it attempts to draw a distinction between the Japanese coloniser Dankichi and the white coloniser whom he has once been mimicking, and it celebrates his monolithic solidarity with the colonised who ought to be 'other' to him. In order to gratify his desire to live an adventurous and indolent life and to remove the anxiety of indigenisation, which naturally follows the desire, *Dankichi* has to allow him, a run-of-the-mill Japanese boy, to look to the colonised *kuronbo*. And it has to equip him with a wise mouse, Kariko, not only to help him but also to conceal their being indispensable to him. Dankichi's stereotypical identity of brave, affectionate, civilised Japanese, which seems immovable at the beginning, becomes unstable through the encounter and negotiations with indigenous people. The reason for his superiority over them turns out to be only that he is a Japanese.

Dankichi reiterates essentialist and colonialist discourses – beautiful primitive tropical views, curious flora and fauna, ungentle but pristine natives, brave, benevolent, and civilised Japanese people putting forth exertions to beatify uncivilised islanders – to redraw boundaries obfuscated through the series of supplements of reciprocal cultural intercourses. In doing so, it exposes not only mob Nanyo-Orientalism as the projection of Japanese colonialist desire, but also Japanese colonialist angst and ambivalence accompanying such desire, the angst and ambivalence, which are veiled in case of one-shot official documents, textbooks, and films. As suggested earlier, the author Shimada's reverie, *Dankichi's* authenticity, and Dankichi's adventures are viable in terms

of their disregarding indigenous people, or being indifferent to their dependence on and exploitation of the people. Nanyo-Orientalism always accompanies contradiction and colonialist angst and obliterates them simultaneously.

Writers' visits to Nanyo

The interest in 'nanpo' (the south) of men of letters rose in the 1920s. The originators of Japanese folklore Kunio Yanagita and Shinobu Orikuchi set about research on Okinawa in the early 1920s. In the same period, Sonosuke Sato visited Okinawa and Taiwan and published exotic collected poems on things Okinawan. Haruo Sato also wrote exotic and erotic stories set in Taiwan (Kawamura 1994, 59-66). As for Nanyo Gunto (Micronesia), travel books by literary men appeared much the same time when *Dankichi* was serialised and the film *The Maritime Lifeline* was showed. Fantasies of *Dankichi* and *The Daughter of the Village Chief* and empirical knowledge in those literary texts constituted Nanyo colonial discourse, complementing each other.

In his travel writing, *Nettai Kiko* (An Account of a Tropical Journey, 1934), based on his visit to Micronesia at the end of 1930, Yoichi Nakagawa expresses his adoration for Nanyo: 'I like south barbaric lands, but the European civilisation, which is decadent, has no appeal to me. [...] I am always interested in not well-known countries. [...] The fashions [in Europe and America] are, if refined, not to be envied' (181). His adoration for 'barbaric' Nanyo and his loathing with the Western 'civilisation' make two sides of the same coin. He finds 'the ultimate beauty' in the 'barbarity' of the native's body and reckons their 'tranquil minds' as 'a tonic' (214). Criticising Spanish, German, and Japanese colonial authorities, the League of Nations, and the Catholic Church in Micronesia for 'trifling with them ['Kanakas']' arbitrarily, he fears that more and more increase of Japanese immigrants might shatter his 'Utopian dream' (228-230). He asserts the beauty of Micronesian 'Kanaka' women, consenting to Gauguin's celebration of Polynesian women in his *Noa Noa* – which was unusual in Micronesia – and feels sympathy for his 'adventurous spirit towards art' (244,

265). Nakagawa loved and recognised Micronesia as a Utopia, a locale of adventures, freshness, honest and pure people, and unsophisticated natural beauty, disdaining modernised nations' civilisations and colonialisms as demolishers of island purity. In respect of outright pursuing 'beauty' in the 'barbarity' of Micronesia, he stands out among the Japanese writers visiting the Pacific at the time. Nevertheless, he takes no notice of the fact that such a Utopia is an idea produced in the 'civilisation' and that he is only capable of finding the 'beauty' and 'freshness' from a secure position protected by the 'civilisation' and colonial institutions, which he despises. Despite his declared rejection of the West, he reproduces the image of 'noble savages' and the aesthetic attitude lamenting 'Paradise lost' circulated in Western texts. It can safely be said that he loved not so much Micronesia as a European utopian image of Polynesia institutionalised in its discourse system.

Sei Ando wrote his travel sketch *Nanyo Ki* (An Account of the South Seas, 1936) after his third visit to Micronesia in 1935. For Ando, Micronesia is an intoxicating world of 'beautiful poetic islands' – white coral reefs, native people's sexual dances under palm trees, and their love songs – which has delivered him from his nervous breakdown in civilised, Japanised Manchuria (Ando 90). On the other hand, he describes that Micronesia is Japan's 'maritime lifeline', keeping up with times. Nanyo is depicted as indispensable to guard both his mind and national interests. He focuses on the development of the once deserted island, Rota, by the Japanese, praising the Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha (South Seas Development Company) with its establisher, Haruji Matsue, and Japanese settlers' labour, principally Okinawans: 'obedient', 'bouncing' Okinawan prostitutes and 'virile' and 'unspoilt' Okinawan peasants and fishermen (34). He also takes notice of 'Kanaka's' sexual mores in Palau, Ponape, and Jaluit, which were not so civilised or Japanised as Saipan and Rota. He compensated for his 'tedious' life in Micronesia with description of amazement at local 'strange' 'barbarous' customs. As with Nakagawa, 'Kanakas' ought to be 'others' to the Japanese in Ando's book, though the latter does not find any beauty in their wildness as Nakagawa does. Ando expresses that he feels shame at there being

some similarities between Japanese and 'Kanaka' manners. Furthermore, his wish for 'Kanakas' as complete 'others' is contrary to Japan's colonial assimilation policy although he attempts to support the colonial government in the book. He has pity on young 'Kanaka' women who, having been educated in Tokyo, cannot find their marital partners intelligent enough to make a good match for them. He also feels sorrow for a half-Japanese half-'Kanaka' girl: 'I hope that there will not be abnormal people, children of mixed race, in this world. [...] The rise of a nation is realised only through racial homogeneity' (105). In his travel writing, the description of Micronesia, 'ura Nanyo' (the interior South Seas), functions as the introduction to the descriptions of, and encouragement for the Japanese moving to, Dutch-owned Celebes and New Guinea, 'omote Nanyo' (the exterior South Seas), in response to the *nanshin* boom of the time. In contrast with 'tedious' life in Micronesia, 'beautiful native girls' in Celebes and 'cannibals' in New Guinea stimulate his curiosity, and romantic, adventurous spirit.

In 1940 the Army, sympathising with the Navy, changed its policy from expansion northward to southward, as a result of the bogged-down Sino-Japanese War from 1937 and in response to the remarkable advance of the German Forces in Europe. Consequently, *nanshin* (southward advance) became an official component of Japan's national policy. Thereafter 'the Great East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere' was adopted as a propaganda label for the areas of Japan, Manchuria, China, Southeast Asia, Oceania, India, etc. This plan was, Toru Yano asserts, a vacant, arbitrary idea like 'furoshiki' (a square of cloth for wrapping), rather than the Grand Design as a finely worked-out plan (1975, 157). Japan proceeded with the *nanshin* policy at a quick pace and plunged into the Pacific War at the close of 1941.

In the factitious *nanshin* boom during the War to stir up Japanese people's curiosity about the 'south', adventurous, romantic comments on *nanshin* written in Meiji period (1868-1912) by writers such as Tsunenori Suzuki, Teifu Suganuma, and Yosaburo Takekoshi, were republished, and biographies of these people abounded. Only the romantic, aesthetic side of Japanese people's concern

with Nanyo was highlighted, or, in other words, the history of Japanese relation to Nanyo was romanticised (Toru Yano 1975, 168-170).

Under such circumstances, Yoshiji Maruyama and Yuzuru Sawada wrote travel pieces attempting to defy popular images of Nanyo. In his *Nanyo Kiko* (An Account of a Journey in the South Seas, 1940) Maruyama asserts that he depicted Japanese immigrant peasants' daily life in Micronesia rather than quaint native manners and customs (253-254). He admonishes readers disdaining indigenous people on the one hand, and praises those peasants' fortitude and perseverance on the other. Sawada argues in his *Dai Nanyo* (The Grand South Seas, 1940) that he wrote of the real Nanyo to erase its fantastic image engraved on Japanese minds, of 'infernal parching heat, cannibals, savage beasts and venomous snakes' (1-2). Their 'scrupulous' attitudes, however, are directed only towards glorifying Japan's southward advance and Japanese immigrants' activity in Micronesia. Maruyama expresses that the indigenous people are 'newcome' 'innately submissive' subjects of Japan who are inferior to the Japanese morally and intellectually. Sawada writes that they are 'unspoilt', 'fortunate' enough to be loved and educated by the Japanese, 'the honest people'. Their scant representations of the native people are little better than any official imagery of the people, despite their compassion for the people and their challenges to popular views of the people.

Tatsuzo Ishikawa toured the Mariana Islands and the Palau Islands for about two months from May in 1941. His itinerary was published as 'Kokai Nisshi' (A Journal of the Voyage), 'Gunto Nisshi' (A Journal of the Archipelagos), and 'Akamushijima Nisshi' (A Journal of Red Insect Island) in that year. (They were published in book form later as *Akamushijima Nisshi* in 1943.) Although, at first, visiting Micronesia without any specific purpose or out of curiosity about the 'uncivilised' region, he finds the purpose of the visit when he sees Japanese young men (including his younger brother in Palau) engage in breeding pearls. He attempts to report what is behind the flowery watchword 'Nanshin Japan': the 'tenacious of life' and 'dauntless fortitude' of the 'fighters in the forefront of Japan's south lifeline' (Tatsuzo Ishikawa 417, 427). On the whole his travel

writing can also be said to be in line with the national policy.

For Ishikawa, at first, the islanders are 'well-known others' – 'tragic' 'animalistic' savages not having 'writing', 'tradition', or 'nation' (408). He does not take any interest in indigenous manners and customs from old times because he thinks that he has full 'knowledge' of them and their 'tragic' history of colonial rules. He also depicts Okinawans as in-between – a kind of 'Japanese gypsy': the principal work force of Micronesia in place of the lazy 'Kanakan', worse off than the latter, 'not knowing culture', and doing 'vulgar' dances to the *samisen* (399, 403). He regards Okinawans as, as it were, 'internal others', but not as to Micronesians, despite both being the colonised subjects within the Japanese Empire. What enabled him to regard Okinawans as the 'internal' people of 'the Japanese' was their monolithic proletarianisation as 'work force' rather than their assimilation by state power (Tomiyama 213). For him Micronesians are 'external others'. When inspecting a *kogakko*, public school for Micronesian children, in Palau, and seeing 'Kanakan' little girls sing Japanese nationalistic songs in 'good' Japanese, he feels 'cheated'. He asserts that it is impossible for the 'Kanakan' girls, unable to perceive Japanese tradition, to understand Japanese national ideology. They also sing delightfully the school song to the effect that they appreciate the Emperor of Japan for doing a great favour for them as unenlightened savages. He writes, 'Is it necessary to teach these little girls their miserable racial tragedy? Or to make them sing such a song patronisingly?' (416). For him, they could never become Japanese and the education would make them aware that they are inferior people. This 'expression of their effort to become Japanese' moves him to 'pity', which runs counter to Japanese colonialist discourse that he seems to accept. He also writes, 'we despise black Kanakas on the one hand, and fear them on the other', as opposed to the Japanese dominant view of them as 'tame subjects' (410).

Such contradiction and anxiety accompanied with the attempt to fix the natives as 'exterior others' results in Ishikawa's representing of them as oscillating between unknowable and well-known others. Ishikawa says that he 'understood' the mood of 'Kanakas', explaining their 'simple life without any

material culture' (424). Nevertheless, presented with two hand-knitted baskets from a native woman, he is at a loss for a reply. He does 'not know where lurks such affection in the mind of the woman with her big black body, her lips dyed red [on account of betel nuts], and her chapped cheeks like an elephant's skin' (428). He adopts a 'deadpan' response to the matter of perceiving the indigenes as 'incomprehensible others', which we will see Takashi Kubo (below) and Atsushi Nakajima (in the next chapter) explore in their stories.

Takashi Kubo visited Micronesia in February 1941 for three months travel before his novel 'Kogakko' (Public School) was published in March 1945 five months before the end of the Pacific War. In Micronesia under Japan's rule, the Japanese teacher at *kogakko*, public schools for Micronesian children, as well as the Japanese policeman, was a symbol of the colonial authority. Maruyama's and Ishikawa's travel writings report that those children were too disciplined. We will also see later in Atsushi Nakajima's letters from Micronesia how much Japanese teachers swaggered over native children. Japanese teachers were targets of criticism by elder natives and some Japanese such as Nakajima, while held in awe by native children. Kubo's 'Public School' expresses how Japanese teachers on an islet in the Palau Islands come to harmonise with native people and suggests that this is a more effective means of 'understanding' them.

In 'Public School' the *kogakko* has less than two hundred native pupils and four Japanese teachers: the schoolmaster, his wife, Haga (the protagonist), and Gomi. The first-person narrator Haga is a young newly-appointed teacher, burning with the high hope to 'enlighten the villagers through the pupils' by demonstrating affection towards the natives, although he feels that there is 'a great difference quite difficult to overcome' between the natives and himself as a 'civilised' man (149). The schoolmaster, also newly appointed, has the same hope, but his strict coercive educational policy valuing 'power' above 'affection' appears 'utilitarian' to Haga. Gomi, having been in Micronesia for over ten years, integrates herself into the native community's normal routine, and is held in contempt by the two male teachers as 'looking like one of the benighted Kanaka wives rather than a woman teacher' (137). Haga falls in love with a native girl,

Mercedes, and feels an aversion to a native man, Eramaru, a graduate with honours of the *kogakko* and ex-convict, who acts craftily and haunts Mercedes. Eramaru is a typical 'smart native' – corrupted and dangerous. But Haga reluctantly gives up visiting the village to see her because of a scandal about him among the villagers, which Eramaru has created, and also for fear of the future of the prospective children of 'mixed race' of Mercedes and himself – the fear that his 'racial instinct to preserve its pure blood has produced' (158).

The schoolmaster's depreciation of local 'myths' triggers elder natives' collective refusal to let their children go to school. This incident gives an additional blow to the protagonist, already daunted by the bad rumour among the natives and the loss of his beloved Mercedes. His resolution to reside permanently on the isle weakens. In the denouement, immediately after the schoolmaster persuades him out of resignation, they find both the conflict and the scandal of Haga settled 'all too easily' through appeasement by Gomi, who 'understands the islanders' psychology' which the two male teachers cannot. In her words: 'It's a habit of the islanders to make a great fuss and stop it soon as if nothing had happened' (174).

'Public School' depicts Micronesia as a place for the Japanese characters to settle in, as opposed to a stereotyped view of 'ura (wrong) Nanyo' as a temporary residence for 'healing' or a place to pass through to 'omote (right) Nanyo'. Furthermore, the text criticises not only the oppressive 'power' (the schoolmaster) but also the self-deceiving 'affection' (Haga) that the Japanese colonisers made easy use of towards the native colonised. In the text the natives are not tractable well-known 'others' as in Japanese colonialist discourse, but intractable incomprehensible 'others' causing unrest to the Japanese colonisers except the almost indigenised woman, Gomi. The protagonist's anxiety about mixed blood can be seen as expressing his racism on the one hand. But on the other, such anxiety can be attributed to his brief intention to settle into the island and to look into its future. Haga gives up the idea of his marriage to Mercedes. Although this may seem a negative expression of racism, it also runs positively against Japan's sexist assimilation policy of those days which

encouraged the marriage of Japanese men and native women in order to Japanise the indigenous populations. The assumption was that Japanese men would retain cultural superiority and the native women adapt to Japanese ways.⁸

Nevertheless this anti-colonialist and humanist looking, 'Public School' is still bound by a conventional colonialist idea: the civilised colonisers are entrusted with their mission to enlighten the colonised benighted, and to deliver good obedient natives (Mercedes and other 'gullible' villagers) from evil disobedient savages (Eramaru).⁹ Eramaru, a civilised native, embodies a contradiction of Japanese school education of the native people. Such a character as having unsettling influences on the coloniser is necessary not only to 'be defined but edited' (Said 1995, 167). When eliminated as an influence on villagers by Gomi's tact, the character functions as justifying the teachers' new policy to enlighten the villagers by practising the proverb 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do' after the example of Gomi (Kubo 175). The text places importance not on domesticating the natives through a gun, Christianity, money, or colonial discipline but on approaching and being liked by them. Even so, what the Japanese teachers aim at is not to go native but to 'devote their life to the enlightening of the uncivilised' as teachers at a public school (177), transforming the natives as 'incomprehensible others' into 'comprehensible others'. Whatever familiar terms with the natives they may establish, their predominance is sustained by colonial authority and its educational institution, which was imported from the West. This reminds us of Dankichi, half-naked, blending in the natives, but reigning over them, never parting with his crown and wristwatch. 'The harmony of the civilised and the uncivilised' which the text proposes criticises Japan's rule over Micronesia, but, after all, takes it for granted and glorifies it.

Notes

¹ In contrast to some Japanese people's diffidence on social, cultural conflict inevitably caused by Japanese colonial rule over Korea, they did not recognise any culture in Micronesia and valued Micronesian indigenous societies only as an exotic and scientific wonderland. In Micronesia ruled by Japan, a three-stratum pyramidal society was

established: those from *naichi* (the main islands of Japan) as its top, those from *hanto* (the Korean Peninsula), and the islanders as its base. Although, unlike Japan's other colonies such as Korea, Taiwan, and Sakhalin, Japan's constitution was not applied to Micronesia, the islanders were called 'santo kokumin' (the third-class citizen). (Okinawans, who occupied 60 percent of all Japanese immigrants in Micronesia, were substantially regarded as lower-grade than those from the other areas of *naichi*.) (Peattie 221-222).

² 'Dojin', branded as a discriminatory term and seldom used nowadays, is enclosed in quotation marks in the reminiscences.

³ This implies that locals are not company. This 'lonely coloniser in the colony' can also be seen in Western texts on the Pacific in various forms. For example, in the Pacific writings written by Louis Becke in the 1890s and 1900s, the Australian who visited most of the islands of the Pacific as a trader, the Europeans are lonely traders, often alcoholic and without conscience, and the islanders are cruel, demoralised or unpredictable. On the other hand, the American writer Jack London, who visited Molokai, Hawai'i, in 1906, dramatises Western horror of leprosy (Hansen's disease) in his stories.

⁴ This is common with Mary Tourtel's comic 'Rupert the Bear' (1920), which has dialogue, a prose story underneath and a rhymed version as well.

⁵ The Nanyo-cho reports that the Spanish colonial authority devotedly exploited the Micronesian and that the German paid attention to management and education (Nanyo-cho 1939, 16-20).

⁶ Bill Pearson perceives this 'double standards' in nineteenth-century Western imperialist fiction for boys such as *The Coral Island* (55).

⁷ Patrick Brantlinger suggests at every turn in his work, *Rule of Darkness*, that the writing of the late Victorian and Edwardian period has anxieties about the setback into savagery. As Robert Dixon asserts, the emphases 'involved in narrating the national and imperial identity are reflected in the increasingly fragmented form of the adventure novel itself' (201).

⁸ The 'transracial' love of the colonising man and the colonised woman is typical of European colonialist love romances such as Pierre Loti's. But 'Kogakko' avoids the conventional ending of native women meeting their doom. Mary Louise Pratt suggests that the marriage plot in colonial texts is a 'romantic transformation of a particular form of colonial sexual exploitation' (95).

⁹ Peter Hulme points out that dichotomisation of natives into 'good Indian' and 'bad Indian' (e.g. 'available female and hostile male') forms the keynote of European colonial myths.

Chapter 3

Atsushi Nakajima's Nanyo Stories

Nanyo and Nakajima's literature

Atsushi Nakajima's Nanyo stories, 'Nanto Tan' (The Tales of the South Sea Islands) and 'Kansho' (The Atolls) can be considered ambivalent in that they at once embody and challenge colonialist Nanyo discourses. ('Nanto Tan' and 'Kansho' consist of three and six novelle respectively: 'Kofuku' [Happiness], 'Fufu' [A Married Couple], and 'Niwatori' [Hens]; 'Sabishii Shima' [A Desert Island], 'Kyochikuto no Ie no Onna' [A Woman Living in a House with Red Jasmine Trees], 'Napoleon' [Napoleon], 'Mahiru' [Noontime], 'Mariyan', and 'Fubutsu Sho' [An Abridgement of Things South Sea]. They were, together with his other stories, published as *The Tales of the South Sea Islands* in 1942.) Nakajima stayed as a functionary at the Nanyo-cho (South Seas Government) in Koror, Palau, for about eight months in 1941-1942, making fact-finding tours throughout Micronesia. After returning to *naichi*, the main islands of Japan, he made his debut as a novelist, wrote many works including these Nanyo stories, and died of an asthma attack at the end of 1942. In Palau, Nakajima made friends with Hisakatsu Hijikata, an artist and folklorist, who stayed in Palau and Satawal, one of the Central Caroline Islands, from 1929 to 1942. From him Nakajima learned native folktales, their manners and customs, and Hijikata's experiences, which were to be writing material for Nakajima's Nanyo stories. These stories have in common the first-person narrator, the author's nearly autobiographical character. As we will explore later, they express exoticism and

aestheticism – a Japanese colonialist and Orientalist eye for nature and human affairs in the South Seas – in which viewpoints of colonial functionary, tourist, literary enthusiast, artist, and folklorist are interwoven. The stories indicate the erudition covering things Japanese, Chinese, Western, and Micronesian, using many stereotypes and clichés. In this sense, the stories can be said to be an incarnation of Nanyo-Orientalism.

On the other hand, Nakajima's Nanyo stories attempt to resist an effect of Nanyo-Orientalism, that is, its function to camouflage colonialist anxieties and to facilitate coloniser's indifference to the indigenous colonised except for their exotic, aesthetic aspects. In the stories he represents islanders' resistance against Japanese assimilationism (Japanisation) and the narrator's (or his own) sense of incongruity both towards Japan's colonial policy and Western colonialist romance and does so subtly enough to pass strict censorship in wartime.

Nakajima's writing plays a key role in cultural debates of the time over the content, language and style appropriate to a national Japanese culture. All of his works which appeared in print can be classified roughly into two categories from the point of view of writing material. One category comprises the works whose setting is his contemporary daily life and which have his autobiographical protagonists. The works in the other category are set in ancient times of China, Egypt, Babylon, and so on, which are written in classical Chinese and Greek histories, epics, and romances, and also set in modern Polynesia described in Robert Louis Stevenson's epistles. The works in the first category deal with protagonists' metaphysical questioning of 'the uncertainty of being (or meaning)'. The works in the second category reset this question in different times and spaces to relativise storytelling, conveying knowledge, functions of letters/characters, writing, rationality, and history. The works in the second category describe with more tension the conflicts between civilisation and savage, present and past, self and other, oppressor and oppressed, and what is known/written and what is not, by using more Sinico-Japanese expressions. (Nakajima comes from a family of scholars of the Chinese classics.) This content and style retrogress the then political and literary main stream aiming at

creating homogeneous time and space of discourse through plain 'standard' Japanese as the national and imperial language. Nakajima's protagonists in the stories set in 'different' spheres undergo some metamorphosis through the conflicts mentioned above, and they are to be regarded as the transformed versions of his protagonists (Nakajima himself) in the stories set 'here and now'.

Nakajima's Nanyo stories occupy an ambiguous position in the context of his total output. These stories sit between both categories. In form, they can be categorised into the first group because all of them have the first-person protagonist-narrator. But, for Nakajima, Micronesia was an exotic sphere just like ancient China, Egypt, and Stevenson's Samoa. Moreover, Nakajima's Nanyo stories – nine short sketches – cannot be looked on as homogeneous novellas. His story 'Happiness' based on a Chinese classic in its plot (Sasaki 271-282) and 'A Married Couple', both narrating old tales of Micronesia (space and time different from 'here and now'), are to be regarded as stories belonging to the second category. Partly so are 'Hens' and 'Napoleon', both mainly based on Hijikata's experiences written in his diary. Nevertheless, as we will see, the first-person narrator of his Nanyo stories (the pseudo-Nakajima), unlike the protagonists of his other works of the second category, remains almost invariant, incapable of undergoing any drastic metamorphosis, throughout the stories. This equivocality of the position of his Nanyo stories arises from the fact that Japan's colonised Micronesia was for him a space which made him more keenly feel the incongruity of policies of cultural hybridisation and Japanisation as an extreme instance of the ambiguities felt at home concerning Japan's Westernisation and nationalism. It also results from the fact that he wrote those stories not during his stay in Micronesia but after returning to *naichi*. This enabled him to acquire double perspective that is in the time of the stories and out of that time reflecting on them. He reconsidered his experiences in Micronesia, and reread and reorganised his own diaries and letters to his family that he had written during the stay, and materials that he had gained from Hijikata and other sources.

Before exploring his Nanyo stories, I would like to discuss some of his

works written before his visit to Micronesia, and his experiences on the spot. In 'Kakocho' (A Family Register of Deaths; composed of 'Kamereon Nikki' [A Chameleon Diary] and 'Roshitsu Ki' [A Record of a Diseased Wolf]), which can be classified as the above-mentioned first category of Nakajima's works, Nanyo or the 'south' is already referred to:

Exoticism, having been lying inside me for a long time, has been reawakened by the unforeseen appearance of this curious small animal [a chameleon]. The colour of the sea, the charm of thick leaves of tropical trees, the oily dazzling sky, the primary, vivid tint, and the flaming light and heat, in Ogasawara, where I once travelled – a youthful interest in curious exotic things has begun to move suddenly and vigorously. ('A Chameleon Diary', Nakajima 1: 379)

When he was watching [a documentary film of Nanyo natives' life], Sanzo felt that a strange anxiety he had forgotten for a long time stole into him again without his knowledge.

Long ago, when reading records of primitive savages' life or looking at such pictures, Sanzo used to wish he could have been born one of them. [...] Only because he is what he is, cannot he think about what he could if he were a different being. Thinking of it, Sanzo felt a kind of humiliation at the time, while having a vague feeling of unrest. ('A Record of a Diseased Wolf', 1: 406-407)

For the protagonists (Nakajima), Nanyo or the 'south' is an object of fervid exoticism evoking his metaphysical question of the uncertainty of being (or meaning) and giving him an opportunity to be a different being. Nakajima as a child had to separate from his mother because of his parents' divorce and in his boyhood moved from place to place, Nara, Shizuoka, Tokyo, Seoul, and Manchuria. He also suffered from asthma since his youth. Such an unsettled, unstable life and his contact with the foreign colonised people in his position as the coloniser, produced his unrest about his own existence and enabled him to relativise his centre, 'here and now'. In obtaining a thorough knowledge of

Japanese, Chinese, and Western thoughts as an elite of a graduate student at the University of Tokyo, he seems to have deepened the unrest into metaphysical doubt. It can be said that, for Nakajima, just like the settings of his stories based on existing texts, Nanyo has some potentialities to enable him to break out of common sense or values under constraint of his centre.

Before visiting Micronesia, Nakajima wrote 'Ko-tan' (The Old Tales), consisting of four novelle, 'Kitsune-tsuki' (Fox Possession), 'Miira' (A Mummy), 'Sangetsu Ki' (A Record of a Mountain and the Moon), and 'Moji-ka' (Writing-made Calamities). ('A Record of a Mountain and the Moon' and 'Writing-made Calamities' were published in a literary magazine directly before his return to Tokyo in March 1942.) These stories, based on the legends of the ancient Orient and China, have common denominators of confrontation between savagery and civilisation, war, power, recording, remembrance, and the protagonists' metamorphosis and death. In 'Fox Possession', the protagonist, a member of a barbarous tribe of the Scythians (as the Greeks called them), suddenly becomes a storyteller just after staring at his brother's dead body without its head and right hand. He has been killed by a north nomad tribe. The protagonist enjoys so much popularity through his storytelling (he is called 'a poet before Homer' in this work) that he is eventually eaten by his villagers because of an intrigue of the jealous elder village chiefs. His stories remain to be recorded. In 'A Mummy', with the backdrop of the war of uncivilised Persia and civilised Egypt in the late sixth century BC, the protagonist, a Persian military commander, when seeing an Egyptian mummy, reaches back vast bygone memories, which are sensuous and unnameable to him and which he has never undergone. He comes across the mummy when digging open Egyptian graveyards at the command of his Persian king Cambyses. Unable to bear the fertility of those memories, he becomes insane. The setting for 'A Record of a Mountain and the Moon' is Tang, the Chinese Empire, in the mid-seventh century, when Tang was at its zenith, conquering different peoples and organising a gigantic bureaucratic system. The protagonist cannot put up with his status of minor official, hoping to leave his name as a poet. But he, having an 'arrogant sense of shame' and a 'timid self-

respect', turns out not to be a first-rate poet and cannot turn the hope into reality: he becomes a tiger after his anguished struggle between savagery (a beast) and reason (a poet). In 'Writing-made Calamities', the protagonist researches the 'spirit of written words' on the instructions of a king of the Assyrian Empire, Ashurbanipal, who founded a library in Nineveh. The protagonist elucidates the horrible power of the spirit to manipulate human beings and their history, and comes to be sceptical of existence and the meaning of everything. The spirit 'revenges' itself on him for his 'slander' of it. He is crushed to death under clay boards, on which letters were written at the time.

These stories clearly present themes of the artistic mind confronting strange times and places and experiencing stress and transformation as a result. They set the stage for his own story when he visits the primitive lands of Nanyo.

Indeed, he wrote up a story set in Nanyo (Polynesia), 'Hikari to Kaze to Yume' (Light, Wind, and Dreams), just before visiting Micronesia. This story is of importance in its demonstration of what Nanyo was for Nakajima before his stay in Micronesia. 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' is modelled mainly on R. L. Stevenson's *Vailima Letters* (1895) describing his later years in Samoa.¹ The story is heterogeneously composed of both the diaristic accounts by the protagonist, Stevenson, and the omniscient narrator's biographical and historical descriptions. Kazuo Iwata points out that in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams', Nakajima uses only a little part of Stevenson's letters as they are. Nakajima, Iwata asserts, 'does not always report Stevenson correctly in terms of biography' (103). 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' represents Nakajima's own view of literature, exoticism, primitivism, and anti-colonialism, through the eye of Stevenson, who so blended in with the Samoan community as to be titled 'tusitala', the teller of tales.²

In his works, as remarked above, Nakajima focuses on oral storytelling, which, roughly speaking, modern Japanese 'literature' after the last quarter of the nineteenth century tended to neglect. Those modern Japanese 'literary' writings, especially novels – the form appropriated from Europe – which surrounded him are written in the Japanese language which had been

Westernised in both lexis and concept. 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' as well as 'The Old Tales' implies his decentralising resistance against this centralising Westernised Japanese writing. In 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' he demonstrates his position by adapting and appropriating Stevenson's text in his unique style using Sinico-Japanese expressions: in a sense he can be regarded as a writer who opposes normative Western values both by reshaping borrowed Western textual form and contents, and by taking over local literary tradition.

The contents of the story 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' principally consist of Stevenson's life in Vailima (where he set up a mansion and employed native people), the relationship between Stevenson and Samoan people and society, and between white colonial government and indigenous society, and Stevenson's past life and view of literature. These topics are narrated in conjunction with each other from the alternating vantage points of Stevenson and the omniscient narrator. The main action of the story follows Stevenson: Stevenson's contemplation occupies the centre of interest. It is not a story about Samoans.

'Light, Wind, and Dreams' depicts Samoa and its islanders as multifarious stereotyped images: exotic, beautiful, dismal, unenlightened, vigorous, wild, pleasure-loving, unorganised, macho, spineless, superstitious, childish, militant, or lazy. It employs two kinds of stereotypes: atrocious headhunters and noble savages. In the text native people are pitiable beings needing to be both more civilised by and saved from Western colonialism. Inversely, white colonisers (the English, Americans, and Germans) are described as arrogant, cowardly, dishonest, and (especially Germans) as cruel-hearted. Stevenson and the omniscient narrator hammer at the white colonial government's interference in the indigenous domestic affairs and its exploitation of the native people and the insolence and narrow-mindedness of the Western civilisation, on the one hand, and they repeat Stevenson's affection towards the native people, on the other. Between those opposed communities Stevenson, a man of property and one of chiefs for the indigenous people, frequently torments himself with self-hatred for being powerless politically to deliver them from the oppression that the white colonisers impose upon them. He is a childlike (and 'childish' in his words)

tusitala, a tubercular aware of being near his time.

Although finding a supreme sense of well-being in living in Samoa and something congenial in the people, Stevenson never goes native. He keeps dispatching letters, documents, manuscripts of his works to his friends and publishers in his own country and reading books, newspapers and magazines sent from them. He sometimes, not necessarily nostalgically, feels as if he were in Edinburgh and looks back on his childhood. This reminds readers that he belongs to civilisation even though he lives at its edges. He exerts himself to abolish headhunting, an 'evil practice' of the natives, teaches at a Sunday school, takes pride in his native servants' 'un-Samoan' diligence as a result of his discipline, and calls on the people to develop their land for themselves. The people, as a token of their gratitude for his compassion, construct a road that links his mansion with a public road, the 'un-Samoan' voluntary will to work which he is amazed at and boasts of. Stevenson's anti-colonialism and his tenderness towards the people turn out to be these colonialist attitudes. Stevenson as a writer breaks out of his shell after a slump he has never hit before the stay in Samoa. He is satisfied with his success in relativising European literature in the middle of his unfamiliar surroundings of the non-literate native community, and in understanding the mood of the people which is an 'insoluble enigma for white people' (1: 197). Immediately after this 'rebirth', he expires and is interred before sixty Samoans and nineteen Western people. In 'Light, Wind, and Dreams', Nanyo is represented as a place where a Western writer with burning curiosity and in poor health, famous for his mystery and adventure stories, runs a risk of objecting to the colonial power and of attempting to enlighten the colonised, whom he loves and is loved by, and undergoes a complete metamorphosis as a novelist. Nanyo is the 'other' serving as a springboard to his exotic experiences and his rebirth as a writer.

As we have seen in Keizo Shimada's *Dankichi* and Takashi Kubo's 'Public School', educating the natives by integrating with them without going native was the ideal of ethical colonialism used to valorise Japan's rule of Micronesia and to differentiate it from Western counterparts. Hisakatsu Hijikata, an artist,

engraver, and folklorist, practised this 'enlightenment through integration' during his stay in Micronesia in 1929-1942 and recorded the everyday life of the islanders of Satawal on which he had lived for about seven years before becoming acquainted with Nakajima in Palau. The preface to the record *Ryuboku* (Driftwood, 1943) says that the savage people, living in 'the bizarre and complex web of rules incomprehensible to civilised people', should be also allowed to join 'Great East Asian people' and that enlightening those barbarians with perseverance and without sacrificing them to progress is 'an obligation' of the Japanese (Hjikata 1974, 2-3).

Nakajima, however, concludes his story 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' with the death of Stevenson who, enlightening the natives by harmonising with them and resisting Western colonial power, would be idealised in such Japanese discourse. Furthermore, contrary to this idealised idea of rule by integration, as we will see in detail later, Nakajima depicts the coloniser as an aloof 'onlooker' in Micronesia in his Nanyo stories which were written after his going home. I will discuss Nakajima's visit to Micronesia and then his Nanyo stories in the rest of this section.

Nakajima in Nanyo

During his actual stay in Micronesia, Nakajima could not become a 'teller of tales' like Stevenson. He abhorred his duty as a functionary to investigate the islands in order to edit the Japanese-language school textbook for native children. His stay in Palau was, just like Stevenson's stay in Samoa, incidental to his finding a climate suitable for his health and improving himself as a writer. Another reason for his reluctant visit, Katsuhiko Hamakawa suggests, lay in a high salary for functionaries dispatched to *gaichi* (the overseas territories of Japan) (177-200). Although planning to stay with his uncle in Manchuria at first, Nakajima made up his mind to resign as girls' high school teacher and to get a post in the Nanyo-cho through the kind offices of his friend, Hisaharu Kugimoto, at the Education Ministry. Despite the above-mentioned purpose of his visit to

Nanyo, while staying in Palau, he was almost always suffering from the climate of high temperature and high humidity, endemic diseases and his chronic asthma attack (of which he died late in 1942, aged 33) and was swamped with his official duties. But he did not have any asthma attacks during his long-term official trips of inspection to neighbourhood islands, which were, according to his letter to his father, 'the one and only breather' for him to take his mind off his 'disgusting' life as a functionary (Atsushi Nakajima to Tabito Nakajima, 13 Sep. 1941; 3: 585). These trips and his friendship with Hisakatsu Hijikata, his only companion in Palau, were to provide him with writing material.

During his stay in Micronesia, although unable to write any stories, Nakajima depicted Nanyo and his experiences in the form of letters and diaries. The letter he sent to his wife, Taka, on the day after his first arrival in Palau, describes, along with a fine view of the sea through palm trees, the inconvenient life such as high prices of commodities, indifferent food, and the dim lamp in his apartment, and misgivings about local diseases, that: '[...] I want to call you [his wife and sons] to me, but I think I'd better give it plenty of thought. For [Japanese] little children raised here are usually like the islanders. [...] I'm afraid they don't also have any more brains than the islanders do. / It's strange but true. I don't want Nochabon [Noboru, Nakajima's one-year-old second son] to resemble them' (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 8 Jul. 1941; 3: 564). In the letter Nakajima expresses not only an interest in the exotic flora and fauna but also his anxiety and discontent about his life in Palau, the loneliness, and his derogation of the native people. But he does mention a native woman who is a good Japanese speaker. It is like other writers' travel writings. In other letters, too, he repeatedly emphasises the abundance of natural beauty on the one hand, and the dearth of culture on the other, deploring Palau as neither civilised nor uncivilised. In a letter he sent to his wife during his first fact-finding tour, he remarks: 'Among the isles I have travelled to, Jaluit suits my taste best. For it is the least civilised, most like Stevenson's South Seas' (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 1 Oct. 1941; 3: 607).

Just like Stevenson in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams', Nakajima testifies his

antipathy to the colonial policy and his favour and pity for the indigenous colonised. He addresses himself to his father and his wife after the tour as follows:

[...] I regret that [the trip] yielded me as textbook editor a poor harvest. In the present situation, it seems, the government has a low opinion of native people's education and makes a point of not minding squeezing them as labour. This thought has chilled my zeal for the task thoroughly, which to this point I had felt slightly. (Atsushi Nakajima to Tabito Nakajima, 6 Nov. 1941; 3: 627-628)

Well, as a result of the latest trip, I have realised clearly that editing the school textbook for the native people is nonsense. There're lots of more important things to make them happy. [...] Now, we are incapable of beatifying the natives in these times. It's getting impossible to feed or house them enough in the current South Seas state of affairs. What is the use of bettering the textbook a little at this stage? Educating them by halves might make them more miserable. I can no longer put my heart into my duty. Not that I dislike the natives, but that I love them. I like the islanders (the natives). You can't imagine how much better I like them than those skinny fellows from *naichi*. There is something innocent and pretty endearing about the natives. We could safely think of an adult native as a big child. Formerly they must have been happier. (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 9 Nov. 1941; 3: 631)

As Stevenson does in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams', Nakajima self-critically and despairingly complains about his helplessness to relieve the native people from their poverty. During his second tour of inspection too, he resents the too rigid discipline in a public school for Micronesians in Saipan, and grumbles about the native schoolchildren being uncommunicative for fear of him: 'It's unbearable that the textbook I make would be used in a place like this [...]. I didn't need to come all the way [to Nanyo from *naichi*]' (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 2 Dec. 1941; 3: 648). However, Nakajima's letters suggest that his feelings of affection and sympathy for the people presuppose his disdainful and exotic view

of them. Although as a civil servant he was driven to despair by the inspecting of Micronesian peoples, they inspired him as an aspiring writer. As we will see later, he used his diaries and his letters to his wife written during the tours of inspection in his literary texts. Although not admitting himself into the brotherhood of the indigenous oppressed, Nakajima regarded himself as different from other Japanese colonial oppressors and felt estranged. According to his letter to his wife, he was aware of his 'unpopularity' among colleagues. Most of them, with over twenty years' experience after graduating from junior high schools, harboured ill feeling towards him, a fresh hand but their boss with a college background (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 21 Nov. 1941; 3: 637). But despite his repugnance against, and sense of alienation from, the colonial government that he worked for, he found himself in a position to receive benefit from the colonial authority. This is as contradictory as his showing affection for and being inspired by the native people whom he despised for lack of morals and intelligence. Calling at a *kogakko* in an isle of the Truk Islands during the tour of inspection, Nakajima was treated coldly by the 'surly' schoolmaster. But 'absurdly' in Nakajima's words, the old man, after seeing Nakajima talking to a German lady in English, 'began to use polite language and give me better treatment' (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 3 Nov. 1941; 3: 621). But no matter how absurd he might feel it, his social superiority was assured by his Western education.

In a sense, his contradictory attitudes towards both the coloniser and the colonised, is typical of Japanese intellectuals of those days. It is an outcome of Japanese colonialism twisted between the projection of Orientalism towards Japan by the West and that of Japan's own Orientalism taken over from the West and levelled at other non-Western people.

Nakajima's Stevenson in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' had felt happy in his life in Samoa. By contrast, Nakajima himself repented of his stay in Nanyo: 'it was an error that I had been to Nanyo both for the Nanyo-cho and for myself' (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 2 Dec. 1941; 3: 648). Having asthma attacks over and over again in Palau after the second long-term journey,

Nakajima applied to the office for *naichi* service and went on the third trip with Hijikata before he was back with him in Tokyo on business on 17 March 1942. (He heard of the outbreak of war during the second tour.) He was unable to return to Nanyo again because of illness, and was informed that his 'A Record of a Mountain and the Moon' and 'Writing-made Calamities', which he had entrusted to a friend of his, were published in February 1942 and that the next publication of 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' was scheduled in May of the year. He dedicated himself to writing literary works until his death in December 1942.

Nakajima's Nanyo stories

As we have seen, in Micronesia Nakajima confirmed and experienced what he had described in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams'. But unlike Stevenson and far from Nakajima's real intention, Nakajima was obliged to write his Nanyo stories, 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands' and 'The Atolls', after going home. In writing the stories, Nakajima drew on his own practical knowledge and experience in Micronesia and what he had been informed of mainly through folklorist Hijikata. But just as in 'The Old Tales,' 'Light, Wind, and Dreams,' or other stories based on preceding texts, in his Nanyo stories Nakajima did not use such knowledge as it was. Reading 'Hens' and 'An Abridgement of Things South Sea', the closing novelle of 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands' and 'The Atolls' respectively, will tell us how Nakajima transformed their source material into his Nanyo stories. The former rests mainly on his own experience and Hijikata's diary, and the latter on his own diary and letters to his wife.

As opposed to the other novelle of 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands' – 'Happiness' and 'A Married Couple' – which have the form of relating local folktales as mentioned earlier, in 'Hens' the first-person narrator and protagonist reports of his own experience in Micronesia. This story composed of the narrator's visit of inspection to a *kogakko* and an episode on an old native man in Koror, the latter deriving from Hijikata's experience. Unlike the author Nakajima, the narrator has been in Micronesia for at least over four years. A

new, young-looking but practised teacher makes an inaugural address to native school children menacingly: 'I can see through all you do' (1: 240). The narrator as well as the children is struck with awe, but he also feels suspicious about the newly-appointed teacher's words. The teacher gives a smiling excuse that he needs to threaten islanders in order to keep them under control.

The narrator asserts that for him, as one of 'civilised people' and of 'those from the temperate regions', native people's feelings are totally incomprehensible:

[...] I can't still understand the islanders. Besides, the more I meet them, the greater my incomprehensibility of their mentality and mood grows. The natives' feeling is getting more and more impenetrable for me in the third year rather than in the first year I came to Nanyo, and more in the fifth than the third. (1: 242)

It is odd, it seems to him, that those from *naich* firmly believe that they can grasp the islanders only in a few years' stay in Nanyo: 'I feel as if I could not have a proper understanding of them [the natives] until I settle for as long as ten generations between the rustling of palm leaves and the roaring of swells of the Pacific outside the atolls' (1: 243).

Making these introductory remarks, the narrator takes up the main subject: a native old man – a 'pitiable' 'stupid-looking' hunchback but a 'swindler'. The narrator, having a deep interest in Palauan folk art, engages the old man to manufacture models of talismans, shrines and cultus images. Before long, the old native comes to cheat their structures, ornaments, or sizes, to bring not models but stolen real things, and to bid the price up. Just at the time the narrator happens to hear that the old man lodges an information against members of a new local religious association to win prize money from the Japanese police. Offended, he rebukes the native severely, firing him, and immediately after that, finds his pocket watch of superior quality missing. He remembers that the old man has kept fiddling with the watch before.

The narrator makes a two years' trip for his research into local customs in

eastern Micronesian islands and returns to Palau, finding that the Palauan islanders have become slicker and slyer. The elderly native, enfeebled and attending the Palau Hospital, visits him suddenly and pleads with him to see to it that the old man can stop attending the Japan's colonial hospital so he can consult a German missionary who has a reputation among the islanders for being a good doctor. The native stands in awe of offending the hospital director and policemen. The narrator thinks that he is fussing unnecessarily, but fulfils the wish of the dying-looking old man. The native gives thanks to him enough to disconcert him.

The old native man dies three months after that, leaving three hens with the narrator as a token of his gratitude. The three hens make 'not a little impression' on the narrator, who is well aware of how valuable the islanders find hens. But he cannot but ask himself about these bequests, concluding this story as follows:

Did the old man intend to repay my kindness (if only it could be said 'kindness') to mediate between the director and him? Or did he mean to apologise for stealing my watch? [...] how should I harmonise his cunningness left in my image through the incident on the watch with this gift of hens? [...] [The old man's hens] deepened my feeling that the South Sea people were still inexplicable to me. (1: 250-251)

Hijikata's diary, the source-text of 'Hens', writes: a 'fierce-looking' but 'tender-hearted' native old man, a 'good sculptor' for Hijikata, requested him to intercede with a Japanese hospital director on behalf of himself. The old man hoped to take medical advice from a German missionary. The old man died leaving three roosters for him. Hijikata was touched by thoughtfulness of the old man, once a headhunter in his youth: 'is it possible to do without a clash of such a soft heart and such an atrocity?' (Hijikata 1978b, 275). According to Hijikata's sequel, it is not this old native but another old and disabled native man, who took away his watch. Concerning Nakajima's 'Hens', Hijikata comments: 'a writer could make a novel out of a few of these details' (1978b, 275).

In 'Hens', however, the colonisers are not portrayed as completely self-assured against the colonised. As we have seen, the new teacher is concerned about his native pupils' disobedience. And the narrator looks as if he is made fun of by the old native and not the other way around. Against the narrator's intellectual exploitation trying to collect the people's traditions, the native attempts to resist by bringing fakes to him and demanding higher wages. Contrary to the narrator's expectation that, as received images, the islanders should be unsophisticated and lacking a sense of economy, the old man seems to him to be shrewd. The old native man believes in the Christian God rather than indigenous gods but deceives the people to make money. But when the narrator comes to think that the natives are becoming a little more sophisticated, the old man in turn appears as a timid, artless invalid. The colonised man confuses the narrator, and escapes representation by the colonising folklorist who in Orientalism ought to know about the native people better than they themselves and to be able to speak for and on behalf of them. In addition, concluding with the indigenous colonised people as 'inexplicable' (absolutely different) intervenes in the predominant colonial discourse of Japan's assimilation policy in which the colonised are originally different but have become similar to the Japanese coloniser under the benevolent rule of the Japanese Empire.

Nakajima's novella 'The Atolls' uses a documentary style. 'An Abridgement of Things South Sea', the last of the six pieces in 'The Atolls', is basically made up of Nakajima's experiences during his tours of inspection. The text is, as it were, a patchwork of his diary and his letters to his wife and elder son, sectioned into six parts entitled Kusaie, Jaluit, Ponape, Truk, Rota, and Saipan. In the first section the first-person narrator arrives at Kusaie, telling that the view of Kusaie Island from the ship is not so much the 'subject for Gauguin's painting' as that for an 'Oriental', 'Indian-ink drawing' (1: 291). (Nakajima's letter to his wife says that it looks like a 'mountain in *naichi*'. [Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 28 Sep. 1941; 3: 601]). At a *kogakko* (public school for Micronesians) of the island, he is received by the schoolmaster, an unpleasant middle-aged man, who looks displeased with the visit of the government official. The narrator.

in anticipation of hearing about the native pupils, hears only unreasonable name-calling about a police officer, he and the schoolmaster being the only two Japanese people in the island and struggling for power. Then the narrator visits a prehistoric site in a tropical setting, thinking of the ancient civilisation and the present savagery in Micronesia, and adding closing remarks that the people in Kusaie eat rats. (This part is cited from Nakajima's diary dated 25 September 1941 [3: 468].)

The first section of 'An Abridgement of Things South Sea' epitomises the attempt of the whole text to rewrite colonial discourses. It challenges dominant European representation of the South Seas; it expresses the narrator's antipathy against the Japanese colonial power; and it shows resistance to Japanese colonialist discourse of assimilation. Importantly, the text shows Nakajima's strategic positioning as critical of colonial official power (as with Stevenson) but representing it unofficially by retailing general colonial attitudes.

As mentioned above, for European stereotypes of the South Seas ('Gauguin's painting') the text substitutes Japanese or Chinese traditional art ('Indian-ink drawing'). In the fifth section ('Rota') the narrator comes across scenes which remind him of a desolate scene of a Japanese *Noh* play, *Sumida Gawa* (The Sumida River), and of a quatrain of Shih Su, an eleventh-century Chinese literary artist, who, he annotates in a parenthesis, was deported to the south. Neither of these expressions is seen in his letters or diary. The text avoids replicating the popular stereotype of the glittering 'South Sea Paradise' and creates gloomy, lonesome images. Although this is also a trope in Western writing (the negative aspect of *Robinson Crusoe*), Nakajima creates it as East Asian imagery.

In addition to a power struggle between the schoolmaster and the policeman described in the first section, in the second section ('Jaluit') the narrator refers to a 'helmet' which every functionary wears in Micronesia. Seeing helmeted Japanese people, the islanders always make way for them reverently. A native woman is not persuaded to discount a basket woven from

pandanus to the narrator, but when seeing his companion in a helmet, she lowers the price. The helmet seems to the narrator to be 'mysterious like Aladdin's lamp' (1: 300). The text ridicules colonial authority by expressing this symbol of colonial power as 'a real worn-out, already formless, stained, besides, bad-smelling common helmet' (1: 300). This episode is not found in the source-text, Nakajima's letters and diary.

In the first section of 'An Abridgement of Things South Sea', as we have observed, tropical scenes are arranged *after* Japanese-looking scenes. The narrator 'escapes' the schoolmaster's offer to show him around the island (: he escapes from the Japanese). There, contrary to Japanese colonialist Nanyo discourse for the masses, official or unofficial, which we have viewed in the previous chapter, Nanyo is represented as 'similar but different' (not 'different but similar'). Not only that, Nanyo in the text is not a primordial immutable spot. It is a locale in which the site of ancient castles suggestive of prosperity of a high civilisation is surrounded by and mixed with hush of the 'uncivilised' present. The idea of a lost past is not uncommon in other colonial writings: there is a strategic alternation of savage past/improved present, lost world/'fallen' present. Either way, the present is rendered 'safe' for colonialism. But Nakajima's text objectively describes the contrast of the past and present of Micronesia.

The text makes a telling response to Japanese assimilationist discourse where Nanyo and its people are 'different but not quite', by depicting them as 'similar but not quite'. In the second section the narrator tells of 'the Marshallese greatest chief' Kapua. The source-texts give a thumbnail sketch of the chief. Nakajima's diary dated 29 September 1941 succinctly says that Kapua is a gentle young man around thirty, able to speak English well (3: 470). In Nakajima's letter to his wife it is written that the chief can speak both Japanese and English (Atsushi Nakajima to Taka Nakajima, 1 Oct. 1941; 3: 605). But the text 'An Abridgement of Things South Sea' describes the chief Kapua to some extent in detail as 'dark but looking like an intellectual a little', 'always seeming nervous', 'appearing to barely understand the narrator's speeches', and too

'reticent' to look like a great chief (1: 297-298). The great chief, who ought to be typical of 'intrepid natives', seems reclaimed, tamed, and Japanised (the text does not refer to his English skill.) Following this, however, the text adds an episode: the narrator hears that Kapua has recently raised a disturbance by making his sister-in-law pregnant. He looks domesticated *but* actually is *not quite*. In the third section ('Ponape') the narrator runs across native children, who bow politely saying 'konnichiwa' *but* look at him with only their wide open eyes turned up, and an old native woman staring at him with a wary and hostile look. He also repeatedly mentions the halting Japanese of a young native woman who offers hospitality to him. They are not the exactly the stereotypes in Japanese colonialist discourse of tame or good-Japanese-speaking colonised subjects (as in the textbook material 'A Letter from Truk'). The fourth section ('Truk') has the narrative structure of representing the islanders as 'similar but different'. The narrator sees the native youngsters march singing a Japanese popular song, *Aikoku Koshin-kyoku* (A Patriotic March) at a *kogakko*, one of them shouldering the rising-sun flag. After telling of this 'Japanised' scene, he recounts local dances he has seen, and mentions the long earlobes of a native from an isolated island, where the islanders laugh at a person with ordinary ears. In the sixth section ('Saipan') the text shows that Saipan, which was talked of as one of the most completely Japanised islands in Micronesia, is far from a culturally homogenised space. The narrator refers to Chamorro, Westernised indigenous people, singing a hymn in a Spanish Catholic church, and the 'fantastic' sound of Okinawan snake-skin *samisen* and their plays whose speeches he can hardly catch.

Thus, in 'Hens' and 'An Abridgement of Things South Sea', Nanyo and its people seem to be stereotypes but escape being captured by dominant colonialist discourse in the Japanese Empire. Although the texts use the typical images seen in official representations, but in terms of how to use the stereotypes, Nakajima's texts differ from and intervene in other varieties of colonial discourses. Unlike travel writings that were seen in the previous chapter, the texts do not aim at reporting Nanyo as it is, but they attempt to relativise

‘reporting’ and ‘representing’. In ‘An Abridgement of Things South Sea’ the narrator tells of the atoll of Jaluit, ‘kaleidoscopic’ with shoals of colourful fish, saying in comparison of himself to Marco Polo:

Even after returning to *naichi*, I have told nobody about this dreamy scene of lapis lazuli and gold. The more zealously I would recount it, the more vexation I would have to go through, which a traveller in the Orient [...] had in earlier times. I would also be exasperated that my power of description could not report even a tenth of the real beauty. (1: 299)

Nakajima’s texts on Nanyo represent it not as ‘knowable other’ but ‘unknowable other’ to colonising power (representation), by portraying the first-person narrator who attempts to ‘capture’ Nanyo in vain. In the first story of ‘The Atolls’, ‘A Desert Island’, the narrator tells about a ‘beautiful *but* lonely’ (desirable but undesirable) island in Micronesia, on which no one has had a baby for over ten years. As some other writings of those days say, sterility was not unusual in Micronesia. Most of those writings assert that it results from native sexual mores. The narrator mentions those and other conceivable reasons such as venereal diseases and contraception and denies all of them, questioning repeatedly ‘why?’, and concludes: ‘I have no idea. Probably the god [of their primitive religion] will have decided to put the people on this island out of existence. Even if I am laughed to scorn as unscientific, there is no other way of thinking’ (1: 257). Then he goes to see the last girl of the island, anticipating that she ‘might be a marvellously beautiful and clever girl (though it is, of course, by the islanders’ standards)’ (1: 257). This anticipation reminds us of the popular song *The Daughter of the Village Chief*: ‘My sweetheart is the daughter of a village chief / She’s dark, but in the South Seas, she’s a beauty’. But he is disappointed at the ‘dirty, stupid-looking, undistinguished child islander’, deploring: ‘Nature is not a romanticist as I am’ (1: 257). The text stands off both scientific and romantic discourse on the colonised Pacific by using negative stereotypes.

The second story 'A Woman Living in a House with Red Jasmine Trees', set in Palau, creates a space with a typical aroma of colonial romance. Afflicted with the heat, an endemic disease and a ghastly silence, the narrator becomes utterly exhausted, and drops in at a native's house to take a rest. He enters the house without hesitation 'because it is an islander's house' (1: 261). Thus, the abrupt intrusion of the coloniser into the colonised is presented as needing no justification. The house is filled with humidity and strong fragrance of jasmines, which works a 'torrid magic' on him. After a while he finds a native woman sitting with her eyes fixed on him. As a prototype of native girl in Western colonialist romance, she is beautiful and seems young, naked from the waist up, although holding a baby in her lap (not a 'paradise maiden'). She looks like a half-Japanese half-Kanaka woman, having no tattoo as a result of receiving her education at a *kogakko*, but her left elbow is crooked in the way peculiar to the Palau women: she is depicted as 'similar but different'. As in Western colonial sexual fantasies, her stare at him arouses his 'erotic interest' in her. Light-headed as he is, he can 'clearly figure out what her stare means' (1: 263). But such a romance is transformed: he is unable to move due to his bodily weakening, and 'the spell of torrid magic' is suddenly broken. He leaves her, saying good-bye in Japanese, and she obviously looks offended.

His conviction about 'what her stare means' is backed up with a native woman's words in Japanese to him: 'She likes men. She likes any men from naichi' (1: 264). The woman of mixed blood is despised and stigmatised as a typical colonised woman even by the colonised indigenous woman as well as the colonising man. A sudden shower, however, washes the island, and '[brings] people, animals, and plants back to life at last' (1: 265). He thinks of 'ginchiku (silver bamboo)', a word meaning 'shower' which Chinese poets of former days used. Metaphorically a traditional Chinese poetic image has purged a Western colonial romance. After the rain he runs across that woman. She does 'not turn her gaze on [him]', looking 'emotionless, with an indifferent air, as if she does not recognise him' (1: 265). Her absence of expression challenges imperial eyes by ignoring them. The text does not make any decisions about her: she is unnamed,

just called 'a woman living in a house with red jasmine trees'; the narrator's feelings are tossed about by a colonised woman. (Nakajima's diary dated 19 January 1942 only says that he and Hisakatsu Hijikata dropped by at a native house to find an old man, two girls, and a young wife suckling a baby, her face having something suggestive [3: 491].)

In the same way as 'Hens', the third story 'Napoleon' is based on Hisakatsu Hijikata's note. Hijikata writes about a native juvenile delinquent, Napoleon, whom he met on an isolated island with a thin population: a thirteen or fourteen years old Palauan boy, exiled to the island for nearly two years for habitual theft (1978b, 270-273). Napoleon can hardly remember Japanese, which he learned for more than three years at a *kogakko*. He is so accustomed to the local language that even Palauan, his native language, is difficult for him to speak. Napoleon is insolent and audacious, not seeming to repent of his sinful life at all. Hijikata notes that the very thought of Napoleon's future makes him feel as if he 'met with the darkest side of the world' (272).

For such anger and despair, Nakajima's story substitutes perplexity: the narrator is completely at a loss to understand Napoleon. The text represents the native bad boy not as 'the darkest side of the world' but, with sarcasm, as 'a bad apple' in the colonial world, appending some episodes to what Hijikata writes. From the viewpoint of the Japanese colonial authority the boy Napoleon is eccentric, abnormal, and deviant. First of all, his name 'Napoleon' is 'too stately' for a native by contrast with such Japanese names of natives as 'Shichigatsu' (July), 'Kokoro' (heart), and 'Hamigaki' (brushing one's teeth) (1: 266). His delinquency is so uncontrollable to native adults and even to the colonial police that he is exiled from Koror to a remote island. He is (or pretends to be) oblivious of Japanese. His countenance filled with 'pure malignity' and 'scrawny body like a monkey' is widely different from the narrator's preconceptions of innocent-looking native children or of stout bad boys. The boy is, in the text, in contraposition to meek, domesticated islanders: a dispirited village chief, strongly-built native young men who help a Japanese policeman to arrest him when he runs away, and a dull-looking native policeman whom the Japanese

policeman call 'it'. Napoleon is not only socially marginalised but escapes colonial power: discipline, knowledge, and representation of the colonised subject. He also seems to be typical of the 'educated native' or 'in-between' type – cunning, with tastes awakened by colonialism that colonialism would not satisfy.

In the text the narrator contrasts himself with a young Japanese policeman who shares the steamer with him to arrest Napoleon. The policeman has no interest in the vivid blue of the sky and the sea and a great number of seabirds, which the narrator gets excited about. The narrator finds pleasure in Napoleon's escape and two native sailors' chase of him which make the policeman irritated, as if seeing an action film. These contrasts bear witness to the attitude of the narrator to keep some distance from the objects. While the policeman devotes himself to 'capturing' Napoleon literally, the narrator attempts to express the boy as 'not capturable'. The narrator does not miss the opportunity to catch the policeman's extraordinary reassurance over the arrest of Napoleon and the native policeman's dread look at the bad boy: the anxieties of the policemen who ought to have firm authority over the islanders. The narrator closes the story by an impressive scene in which the always obstinate, sulky delinquent Napoleon is waving farewell to him, together with other islanders. He has no alternative but to feel embarrassed, incapable of understanding why he has felt like doing that. Although portrayed in the same pattern as dominant Japanese colonialist discourse, as defiant (undesirable) *but* at last meek (desirable) – a figure of romantic rebellion/native free spirit but also of corrupted innocence and disorder – Napoleon is kept inscrutable to the colonising subjects.

As already mentioned, for Nakajima, Nanyo should be a 'text' of importance to make him a pathbreaking novelist just as some existing texts such as Herodotus, Chinese classic books, and Stevenson's South Sea letters. The first-person narrator of the fourth story 'Noontime' narrates that Nanyo ought to be a locale to refashion his consciousness of himself and the world. Nanyo is to him what, for example, a mummy in 'A Mummy', the 'spirit of

written words' in 'Writing-made Calamities', or Samoa in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams', to the protagonists of the tales. But he confesses that he is unable to take hold of Micronesia and its people before his eyes (as he cannot catch little hermit crabs running away as soon as they sense a sign of him), pondering as follows:

Then, is this the south supreme bliss that I expected before my departure – this pleasantness after a midday nap and tranquil oblivion, idleness, and rest?

'No', there is someone in myself giving it a clear denial: '[...] [What you expected of the south] is to make a full test of your ability that is unknown to you but which you have, by flinging yourself into a new unknown milieu. Furthermore it is the hope for adventures in anticipation that [Micronesia] will be chosen as a battlefield in the forthcoming war'.

[...] 'I do not mind even if you are indolent or loaf your time away. If only you really have no regrets. If only you are completely released from the artificial/European/modern spectre. But actually you are anytime and anywhere what you were. [...] You have not changed at all. [...] You think that you are viewing the lucid sea and sky. Or you might flatter yourself that you are doing that in the same way as the islanders. What an idea! As a matter of fact you are not viewing the sea or the sky. With your eyes turning far in the distance, you are just saying over and over again to yourself as if chanting a spell: "Elle est retrouvée! – Quoi? – L'Eternité. C'est la mer mêlée au soleil". You are not even looking at the islanders. You are only looking at Gauguin's replica. You are not beholding Micronesia, either. You are just envisaging faded copies of the Polynesian which Loti and Melville depicted. What can I say about the eternity that you have found through your eyes with such pallid shells? How pitiable you are!' (1: 278-279)

For the narrator who has visited Nanyo with a 'craving for the new and severe', what is really regrettable is that he is incapable of evading Western modernity as biased views of the South Seas produced and reproduced in colonial literary discourses. His pursuit of 'eternity' ('Eternité', cited from Arthur Rimbaud's *Une*

Saison en enfer [1873]) is frustrated due to 'pallid shells' (South-Sea-Orientalism), the regional, tendentious visions. It is not appropriate to regard his challenge to the 'artificial/European/modern spectre' as war-born nationalistic xenophobia or as aversion to civilisation. As he lies down on a pandanus mat in a native shed roofing with palm thatch, 'a strange thing' flashes into his mind: the gaudy souvenir stores of a *kabuki* theatre in Tokyo and the surging crowd gaily dressed in front of them (not the theatre itself). This 'flimsy section of senseless, insubstantial life in Tokyo' also prevents him from 'beholding' Micronesia and its people. It is to view with 'unborrowed, his own eyes' that he desires in vain.

The fifth story 'Mariyan' addresses the issue of colonial syncretism – cultural blending and marriage of colonising man and colonised woman – a conventional subject matter of Western colonial romances. The text, however, attempts to rewrite such stereotyped discourse by focussing on the narrator and the eponymous native woman 'long before being thirty', both of them feeling alienated in their Japanese colonising and indigenous colonised communities respectively. The narrator, unable to adopt a familiar tone with his colleagues in the government office in Koror, does not have a friend except Mr H (probably modelled on Hisakatsu Hijikata). Mariyan (Mary), being of good birth and 'too civilised' in her mind (more than even most Japanese in Koror), cannot find among native men her re-marriage partner suitable for her, only keeping company with some Japanese. She, a daughter of a 'Kanaka' woman from the first patriarchal family and a half-English half-'Kanaka' intellectual man (an adoptive father), comes of the most distinguished family in Palau, a matrilineal society, and has been educated at a girls' school in Tokyo. With her 'civilised' aesthetic sense she is ashamed of her 'purely' indigenous features and well-built physique, which impress the narrator favourably. He complains about cultural blending in Koror, the cultural and political centre of the South Sea Islands, in terms of 'beauty':

Indeed, in this town Koror (in which I stayed for the longest time in Micronesia)

there seems to be some confusion originated in the fact that, though in the tropics. the temperate standard of value pervades. [...] Neither the tropical nor the temperate looks beautiful here. To be more precise, the beauty – whether the tropical or the temperate – does not exist at all. What originally has the tropical beauty is shrivelled through the emasculation by the temperate civilisation here, on the one hand, and what ought to have the temperate beauty assumes the disproportionately feeble under the tropical climate and nature (especially its intense sunlight), on the other. There is only a colonised-outskirts-like/decadent, nevertheless, strangely bluffing poverty in this town. (1: 283)

In this ‘poverty’ of half-Japanised Koror, Mariyan is the only being who makes the narrator feel the ‘ample Kanaka’, although, ironically enough, she is not pleased with it because of the ‘temperate standard of value’ which she has acquired. But the narrator shows the interaction between the tropical nature and the temperate civilisation, not as their one-sided relationship as in traditional colonial romances, which narrate, whether to praise or to blame, only the aspect of exploitation of the colonised by the colonising. In Nakajima’s text the coloniser’s ‘civilisation’ is heterogeneous as well as are the colonised indigenous culture and people. Mariyan teaches the Palauan language to the folklorist Mr H, helping him translate old Palauan poetry transcribed with the alphabet; English (as well as Japanese) acts as go-between. Her adoptive father has also once served as interpreter in English for a German folklorist. This reflects the historical structure of imperialism; these German and Japanese folklorists (Orientalists) have no alternative but to use English, their senior imperialist’s language (writing), in order to secure knowledge about Orientals.

In Mariyan’s house, the narrator finds on the table two Japanese books: Hakuson Kuriyagawa’s best-selling book *Eishi Senjaku* (An English Anthology, 1922) and Pierre Loti’s *Loti no Kekkon* (*Le Mariage de Loti*, 1880), who was famous in Japan as the author of *Okiku-san* (*Madame Chrysanthème*, 1887). Here the Japanese language functions for indigenous elite as a medium of literary cultures in the advanced Empires. For Mariyan, the narrator is one of

the ruling members over her community. But the Western literary culture, especially in English and French, is, as it were, the coloniser for both Mariyan and the narrator. Loti's *Le Mariage de Loti* is to the Tahitian what his *Madame Chrysanthème* is to the Japanese, in which Rarahu and Okiku respectively are native wives of the French protagonist men, and die in solitude. Mariyan and the narrator are, in this sense, two of a kind as colonised and coloniser elites.

But the text 'Mariyan' suggests that they are different; she is almost the same *but* not quite as him. Unlike the narrator who professes himself in thrall to European romances, Mariyan disapproves of *Le Mariage de Loti*, which presented 'a romantic escape for the millions locked in the web of the industrial revolution' (Nicole 106). She complains that it does not depict the 'real South Seas', saying 'I'm not well certain of the past Polynesia, but that can't be true!' (1: 286). For him the Japanese books in her coarse native house and Mariyan dressed up in pure white are somewhat 'comical' and 'heartrending', although he is not aware whether he has felt such feelings to Mariyan herself or to the books/the white dress. These things Western do not seem to sit well on her to him although he is also an 'Oriental', which is because he is a coloniser. While he is reading a book, she is cutting the grass with a sickle with several native women, contributing her physical labour to work imposed on the island women by Japanese colonial authority. When Mr H, Mariyan and he stroll on the moonlight night of New Year's Eve, she whistles American songs, which it occurs to him has once been North American Black blues. In him, she overlaps the colonised in the past Western colony. Imitating Mr H, Mariyan calls the narrator 'Ton-chan', his (Nakajima's) nickname which only Mr H, his senior and his equal, makes a habit of calling him. He feels embarrassed that she calls him by the nickname. For him, who cares for her 'alterity', her 'colonial mimicry' is not the sign of obedience that eases colonial authority but a kind of menace.³

In the stroll mentioned above, Mr H suddenly speaks out: 'when you remarry, the partner must be a man from *naichi*, don't you, Mariyan?' But Mariyan gives no answer. Thereafter she gives the last feast of Palauan food to Mr H and the narrator, who are both leaving for *naichi*. Rarahu in Loti's novel

which she has read, waits anxiously for her French husband who has been back home, until her death. Unlike her, Mariyan does not expect the narrator to return to Koror, telling them in a quiet manner: 'I made friends with people from naichi, but once they went home, they never came back' (1: 290). As her prediction, he is not to be back in Palau. She avoids going the way of Rarahu, a stereotyped indigenous woman in colonialist discourses. That is, Nakajima's text evades 'a definite sense of doom' which controls Loti's novel and Gauguin's paintings (Nicole 107).

Whereas 'Hens' (of 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands') and 'The Atolls' are composed of the narrator's recounting of his own experiences, in the other first two stories of 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands' – 'Happiness' and 'A Married Couple' – the narrator narrates Palauan legends. In the two stories the narrator appears only as narrator. He is not a neutral or transparent narrator, but he does not make his presence felt as a character as in Nakajima's other Nanyo stories. Far from depreciating local tales, the narrator shows an awareness of the relativity of cultural values. To take examples:

Once upon a time there was an extremely pitiful man on this island. I am incapable of telling his exact age because the people around here *did not have the unnatural habit of counting their age*, but he was definitely not very young. *As his hair was not very wavy, and as his nose was not completely flat, his ugliness was a public laughing stock*. Besides, *his thin lips and complexion without a fine ebony gloss made him even more ill-favoured*. ('Happiness'; 1: 221; my emphasis)

Gira Koshisan of Gakurao Village was a very meek man. His wife, Ebiru, was notoriously wanton, always making him feel sad that her love affairs with various villagers were the talk of the village. Since she was unfaithful to her husband (*it is only the logic of those living in the temperate zones to be inclined to use the conjunction 'although' in such a case*.) she was also jealous of him. ('A Married Couple'; 1: 229; my emphasis)

The narrator rejects imposing the standard of value in 'the temperate zones' or 'civilisation' on the tales, although his vantage point remains on the outside of Micronesia. In the tales its 'unfathomableness' to him is not expressed as 'unfathomableness' but as only 'natural', despite their still portraying the indigenous people as 'black' and 'indolent'.

In the two stories Nakajima creates the more 'incomprehensible Nanyo' by using the form of 'legend' originating in oral community, and in doing so, he allegorises and appropriates the colonialist discourse of the 'liberation' of miserable, servile 'savages'. Colonial allegorical discourse of 'liberation' dehistoricised by the use of the stereotyped Pacific is reallegorised, destabilised and transformed in these two pieces. Stephen Slemon suggests that such reallegorisation and transformation can be seen in common in some writers from the areas with the history of colonialism.

The tale which the narrator tells in 'Happiness' shows how the positions of a 'pitiable', 'ugly', 'timid' manservant and his 'spiteful' master, the richest elder in his village, are reversed. The manservant, accepting as his fate his miserable life and the exploitation by his master, comes to have a dream night after night where he exchanges his condition with that of his master. On the other hand, his master also comes to have the same dream every night. Before long the manservant becomes more and more animated, and the master, more and more emaciated. In the end, both of them come to believe firmly that the world in dreams is more realistic than that in the daytime. In this way, Nakajima suggests that fiction is closely related to reality and attempts a textual critique of the actual exploitation.

In 'A Married Couple' the narrator tells a 'tale of Gira Koshisan and his wife Ebiru', introducing the Palauan customs of women's scuffling over a man in public and of unmarried women's servicing of men. Koshisan, a 'meek', 'pitiful', 'servile' islander, is under the rule of his despotic, jealous wife, Ebiru, who often seeks and always wins such scuffles. He is too accustomed to her tyranny to escape from her, but when finding the faithfulness of Rimei, a beautiful woman, who has served him and is so strong as to defeat Ebiru, he finally runs away

from Ebiru to Rimei. Ebiru, left by her husband, soon finds herself a new rich partner bereft of his wife. In this tale it is not outsiders but an islander, Rimei, who delivers Koshisan from the tyrant, Ebiru. Furthermore not only the oppressed (Koshisan) but also the oppressor (Ebiru) and the savior (Rimei) are incapable of living without depending upon others.

Contrary to Nakajima's other Nanyo stories describing what he has seen and speculated about, they are stories about the islanders. He represented them as incomprehensible 'others' in order to resist the West's and Japan's colonial discourses on the Pacific. But explicit expression of resistance would have been subjected to censorship. In addition, many writers had been unable to elude an intertextual framing of the Pacific and had reproduced stereotypic images of the islanders. It can be said that, only by connecting his stories to 'legends', that is, a code of oral culture, could he write the stories about the islanders themselves.

Both of the stories have a close connection with actual colonial invasions. In 'Happiness', 'bad diseases' (which 'white men' introduced) have already 'invaded' the Island of Koror 'far south' of the island where the manservant lives. The island and its people suddenly 'sank to the bottom of the sea about eighty years ago', and 'since then there is no man who has such a happy dream' (1: 228). In 'A Married Couple' the narrator explains that the custom of unmarried women's service for men has been abolished in the period of Germany's occupation and that the other one of women's public fighting over men still remains in existence under Japan's rule. The stories of 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands', from 'Happiness' through 'A Married Couple' to 'Hens', show the death, dilution, and persistence of indigenous manners and customs under the rules of Spain through Germany to Japan. 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands' asserts that despite such changes through natural calamities, colonisation, exploitation, Christianisation, and Japanisation, Nanyo is invariably 'incomprehensible' to outsiders. In the colonial period Micronesian people were usually represented as truculent, and resistant to the ironhanded Spanish and German colonial governments, and now still idle and uncivilised, but made meek through Christianity, and more and more reclaimed by Japanese

government's education of them. Namely, in Japanese colonialist discourse of Micronesian history, the indigenous people evolve from 'inscrutable others' (like animalistic savages) into 'understandable others' (colonised subjects) to the Japanese. For such discourse, 'The Tales of the South Sea Islands' substitutes a new Micronesian history.

In his essay written immediately before his death, 'Takonoki no Shita de' (Under a Pandanus), he argues: 'Unlike food or clothes no substitute is necessary [in literature]. If you are incapable of producing [a literary work], you should wait until you can produce real stuff' (2: 24). Nakajima as well as other Japanese writers depicts Micronesian people as 'others'. Those writers more or less expressed a sense of insecurity over the mood of the native people. Colonial rule, as Nicholas Thomas suggests, usually has a problem to solve a sense of anxiety against the ambiguity of the 'native mentality' and the intractability of indigenous societies (1994, 15). Except for Tatsuzo Ishikawa's text leaving the problem as it is, in the writers' texts the anxiety is transmuted into exoticism (Yoichi Nakagawa), replaced by a taste for the bizarre (Sei Ando) or compassion for the natives (Yoshiji Maruyama), or attempted to remove through enlightening the people (Takashi Kubo). Uncommonly Nakajima's texts centre that issue. Hijikata insists that instead of romance or fantasy an 'honest' report available for anthropology is necessary (1974, 4). As Edward Said maintains, the task of anthropology was 'no less aggressive'; it was 'political, not simply scholarly': to reduce 'incomprehensible others' into understandable knowledge (1995, 84, 294). Nevertheless, Nakajima's representation of Nanyo as becoming all the more incomprehensible despite direct experiences of it and as 'similar but different' escapes anthropological knowledge. So, his texts can be said to resist more radically authoritative and popular Nanyo-Orientalism as 'different but similar'.

His texts focus on the indigenous people, while most of other Japanese writers' texts concentrate on Japanese people working in Micronesia and/or 'strange' customs of 'Kanakas'. We cannot find in his texts any 'happy relationship' between Japanese and natives or any sense of mission to make

native people happy, although, of course, as we have seen, this does not necessarily mean that he was free from the 'great cause'. Indigenous people are created as unique beings in Nakajima's texts, as new models of identity challenging normative discourses. In Japanese literary texts on Micronesia of those days these beings living 'in-between' are depicted as painful, perilous, or marginalised 'alien' elements in ideological and scientific terms of cultural, 'racial' homogeneity of fixed 'civilised Japanese' and 'barbarous Kanaka'.⁴ Nakajima highlights this contradiction and instability in discourse of the natives as 'different', which can be necessarily produced by nationalist representations as highly fragile constructions.⁵ In addition, his texts do not reject but appropriate and deconstruct European colonial fantasy of the South Seas based on the binarism of 'good' and 'bad' natives – the transracial love of male coloniser and female colonised, Utopian paradise, and cannibalistic savagery. This was seldom to be seen in other Japanese writing about Micronesia at the time, and in this respect Nakajima's work is in common with contemporary Pacific writers', as will be suggested in Part III. Elleke Boehmer calls this anti-imperial schizophrenic activity a 'double process of *cleaving*': '*cleaving from*, moving away from [Western] colonial definitions, transgressing the boundaries of colonialist discourse; and, in order to effect this, *cleaving to*: borrowing, taking over, or appropriating the ideological, linguistic, and textual forms of the colonial power' (105-106). For Nakajima, however, these forms of the Western colonial power to be 'cleaved from/to' were not so much what must be acquired strategically as part of his self which must be relativised as alien substance.

Notes

¹ When 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' was published in 1942, Nakajima altered the original title 'Tsushitara no Shi: Vairima-nikki Sho' [Tusitala's Death: Extracts from Vailima Letters] at the request of the publisher.

² For instance, in 'Light, Wind, and Dreams' the protagonist Stevenson says that he is becoming disgusted with his usual descriptions in full colour and that his style aims at the 'eradication of the unnecessary adjective' and 'war to visual descriptions' (1: 120). Actually Stevenson writes in his 'Vailima Letter': 'My two aims may be described as – / 1st War to the adjective. / 2nd Death to the optic nerve. / Admitted we live in an age of

the optic nerve in literature. For how many centuries did literature get along without a sign of it?' (Stevenson to Henry James, 5 Dec. 1893, Booth and Mehew 8: 192-193). These aims can be said to be appropriate to Nakajima's own style.

³ On 'colonial mimicry', see Homi Bhabha's discussion (85-92).

⁴ Ania Loomba points out that scientific discussions of race fixed and developed stereotypical notions of 'civilisation' and 'savagery', realising that all constructions of racial difference are political ones based upon human invention and not biological fact (104-123).

⁵ Homi Bhabha argues that nationalist discourses engage with two contradictory modes of representation, which he calls the 'pedagogic' and the 'performative'. That is, nationalism is a discourse split into the nation as a fixed original essence ('pedagogic') and the nation as socially constructed and lack of a fixed origin ('performative') (139-170).

Chapter 4

Godzilla and Postwar Nanyo-Orientalism

Nanyo discourse in immediate postwar period and the birth of Godzilla

Micronesia was placed under a US trusteeship after World War Two in 1947 – under the control of the US Navy until the transition to its civil administration in 1962. The withdrawal of Japanese people resulted in the disappearance of commerce, agriculture, and fishery in Micronesia, in all of which Japanese immigrants had engaged. To dispel shadows of Japan cast over Micronesians, the US government demolished all that the Japanese had constructed, and severed Micronesians' relations with outsiders.

Not only in real diplomatic relations but also in literary representation, Japanese and Micronesians were separated from each other. After World War Two, the prewar Japanese perception of the Pacific or Micronesia as an adventurous but paradisaical scene changed. For about a decade after the war (in Tamotsu Aoki's words, the period of 'negative recognition of Japan's peculiarity'), for the Japanese, the Pacific was a downright infernal scene of fierce battles. Fresh and deeply engraved recollections of the war and defeat and the following American occupation (1945-1952) were expressed in the form of denying prewar Japan. Inversely Pacific islanders were forgotten, hardly described. Yoshihide Nakayama's *Teniyā no Matsujitu* (The Last Day of Tinian, 1949) depicts Japanese residents on Tinian exposed to the menace both of US and Japanese troops. But native people do not appear in the text.

The Pacific has been a site for dramatising Japanese fears and desires over

the rise and fall of international power. In 1946-1958 the US carried out atomic and hydrogen bombs tests 67 times in Bikini and Eniwetok in the Marshall Islands. The exposure to radiation of 23 crewmembers of a Japanese fishing boat, the *Daigo Fukuryu Maru*, and Aikichi Kuboyama's death in the test in Bikini in 1954 implanted into Japanese minds an image of Micronesia as a nuclear-test site. Despite this, in this case, too, most Japanese people disregarded Micronesian atomic bomb victims: for the Japanese, Japan is 'the only atomic-bombed nation' (Izumi Kobayashi 168). This attitude is conspicuous in *Shi no Hai Shi Shu* (Collected Poems on Dead Ash, 1954), Japanese poets' 121 works collected for a campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapons just after the incident (Gendai Shijin Kaigi; Kawamura 1994, 137-142).

US nuclear tests also made a historical background for the production of the first films both in the US and Japan dealing with the issue of nuclear testing: *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (1953) and *Gojira* (Godzilla, 1954). In *Beast*, a nuclear explosion in the Arctic melts an iceberg, waking up a dinosaur frozen within. The dinosaur assails New York and is slain by the military with a nuclear missile. 'The message is clear', suggests Chon Noriega: 'Nuclear weapons can solve the problems and anxieties they create. But in order to provide such a resolution, the real site of United States nuclear testing is displaced onto the more politically distant and isolated Arctic' (59). The film, whose plot was to be used in other American radioactive-monster films since the 1950s, supports US pro-bomb and cold war attitudes.

On the other hand, *Godzilla* shows sympathy with the eponymous monster, doing 'more than blame and destroy' it (Noriega 61).¹ Aroused by US nuclear testing, Godzilla attacks Tokyo in retaliation for the destruction of its Pacific home. The military cannot curb the monster in the film. For the Japanese, 'Gojira', in which the images of gorilla (*gorira*) and whale (*kujira*) are united, symbolises Nanyo (the South Seas): ape, jungle, and ocean. Monsters of the Godzilla period such as Mosura (Mothra, a monstrous moth), Gappa (a monstrous *kappa*, a legendary water sprite), are also from the tropical Pacific. These Pacific monsters are the embodiment of awe of nature, a warning for

conceited civilisation, a menace of nuclear weapons, and a counter-attack by oppressed natives from the tropical Pacific.

King Kong is also a resident on a tropical island, a gigantic gorilla in the American eponymous film that opened in New York in 1933. In the US, strong effects of *King Kong* (released again in 1952) on *Godzilla* were asserted at the time of the latter's release (Noriega 56), despite an inappropriate comparison of the 'dime escape of Hollywood' (Greenberg 341) in the Depression/the Cold War on the one hand, and the instigator of the social critique on the other. Yet to compare the Pacific monsters in the light of other/self, King Kong is basically similar *but* quite different (a 'remote relative') to Euro-Americans, while Godzilla is basically different *but* quite similar (a 'close other') to the Japanese. (This difference is one of main themes in the next part of this thesis.) King Kong is, as Harvey Greenberg points out, 'a symbol of Natural Man, seeking his lost freedom amidst urban blight and economic oppression', wooing the heroine Anne like 'a fumbling adolescent, fearful of rejection, terrified by the mysterious longings she has stirred' (341, 347). King Kong is a 'noble savage' ('Kong's tragic love affirms the inherent beauty of his fallen spirit'), forming a striking contrast to Anne's fiancé Denham, a greedy, misogynic, unmanned entrepreneur, 'the real beast of *King Kong*' (Greenberg 350). From a Christian humanist view, King Kong is more human than the white character. In terms of Darwinian theory, also, gorillas are 'relatives' of human beings while Godzilla is shown as a reptile. However, *King Kong* equally emphasises the monster's 'otherness'. The point of the tale, as Greenberg's article points out, is that 'You can't marry that girl. You're a Gorilla'. The Japanese movie, as mentioned, emphatically extends its compassion to Godzilla as a similar nuclear bomb victim to the Japanese. Furthermore, when identifying modes of practice in American and Japanese cinema, this difference becomes clear. 'The predigital mechanics of fantasy in American cinema', Philip Brophy suggests, 'lean toward the human-as-engineer, with Willis O'Brien (*King Kong*, 1933) and Ray Harryhausen (*Jason and the Argonauts*, 1963) exemplifying and perfecting the stop-motion animation technique of articulated figurines. The engineer in this process is the unseen

God, operating beyond the frame and between the edit; invisible in the act of animation yet perceivable through the product of motion' (40). By contrast, 'concurrent Japanese fantasy privileges the human-as-agent, building upon the parallel crafts of *Bunraku* and *Kabuki*'. '[t]he use of a human-in-a-suit is crucial to one's identification with [the monster's] act' (Brophy 40, 41).

Thus, Godzilla can be regarded as a vehicle to resist US military imperialism and protest against Japan's Westernisation (Americanisation) on the one hand, but Nanyo-Orientalism or the Japanese colonialist view of the Pacific since prewar time is embodied in it on the other. The Godzilla film was to be serialised until today. In the rest of this chapter, postwar Japanese views of the Pacific will be considered through the changes of Godzilla together with the shift of discourse on Nanyo.

Nanyo-Orientalism 'after colonialism'

In the 1950s and 1960s, Japan was in the process of recovering from the wretched condition caused by its defeat – the total demolition of its production systems and the indignity of foreign occupation. Despite such a predicament, Japan's state-controlled capitalism since the Meiji era enlarged and survived the leftist anti-Established movement of those days. The catastrophe defeat and the outset of the cold war demanded writers to move away from the rightist position since the 1930s into the left after the Pacific War, and back to the right in the 1950s. But what the writers valued was the ensemble of their society as used to be since the Meiji period (Miyoshi 17-27).

However, in the late 1950s (after the US occupation), some intellectuals broke with the established norm of disparaging Japan's past one-sidedly, by taking a position of 'historical relativism' (Aoki). Such awareness threw its shadow on depiction of the Pacific. Shumon Miura's story 'Shoko' (The Lagoon, 1957), for instance, describes a tragedy of a Japanese family in Palau during the war, but in the text it is not due to the US or Japanese Forces but to the modern 'total war'.

The Japanese protagonist, who has come to Micronesia with his family to work for a rock phosphate company in Palau, is obliged to join the army and coerced into living apart from his wife and three young daughters, who are evacuated to a jungle. His human relations in the company and on the islands collapse and people are dehumanised in the extreme situation of starvation. His family seem wild animals to him ('[his] eyes might have looked like those of a butcher looking at livestock') (130). It is even difficult for him to feel grief when informed by his wife of his three daughters' death from malnutrition.

'Shoko' circumvents the discourse of 'glorious death in action' or 'miraculous survival from battlefield' in Japanese grand narratives about the Pacific since the war, and differs markedly from prewar representations of 'southward advance', 'development' and 'civilisation'. However, 'Shoko', as well as most of the other postwar works, does not refer to indigenous victims, who were evacuated by force or killed in action. The native people are alluded to only indirectly through a comment by one of the daughters that '[t]he islanders will give us some octopuses or fish in return for these cigarettes' (128). The islanders serve in the text to bring into prominence his family's animalistic poor life in a jungle, where a paper bag of the cigarettes that he has brought with him appears to be 'graceful' as 'a product of civilisation' (128) but is to be surrendered for a brute survival in which the native is superior.

Miura focuses on the islanders in his other story 'Ponape-to' (Ponape, 1957), which is set in Ponape under the rule of Spain. An indigenous young man, the protagonist, lives for almost a decade under the protection of a Spanish missionary who has saved his life as a child when all his villagers have died from smallpox. Estranged from the other indigenous people because of his traces of smallpox, the native protagonist is incapable of identifying himself with the indigenous community, but he is not ready to renounce local manners and customs completely. On the contrary, while learning Western values and feeling a sense of security in his life with the missionary, he does not have a sense of belonging to the Spanish colonising society. He acquires not only Christian morality by way of the missionary but also racism through the governor-general,

his wife, and one of his Manila men. The protagonist suffers from his self-contradiction: he is both an object and subject of racial prejudice, between his awe and derision of the indigenous tradition on the one hand and his suspicion of and dependence on the missionary and longing for European material civilisation on the other. He is 'an accursed human' for the villagers and 'a subhuman, or not a human' for the Spanish (Miura 247). The death of both the missionary and the tribal chief as a result of the revolt of the indigenous people against the tyrannical colonial government brings the protagonist 'freedom'. Nevertheless, he can only accept 'freedom' as 'helplessness' even after making his stout-hearted indigenous girl friend, who is also tabooed as she ate tabooed fish: he thinks, 'before long others will decide my future' (273).

It can be said that this text rewrites a dichotomised historiography about Spanish-owned Ponape, of the villainous Spanish oppressor and the pitiable or defiant indigenous oppressed. For the indigenous protagonist, it makes little difference which side might win the battle. The missionary, as a means of centralising the discourse of benign paternalism in the text, simple-mindedly attempts to enlighten the indigenous people and is not aware that he does not understand what the protagonist feels. The governor-general's wife, who has come to 'the savage island' reluctantly with an antipathy against her husband – a 'baddie' as a displacement of critique onto the Spanish – both disdains and fears the protagonist. He is ravished by his dominance over her in his imagination. The Manila servant is obsequious to his Spanish ruler but imperious to the protagonist. The latter is worried that he might be like the servant in the future; he is neither a noble savage nor a simple follower. And importantly, the protagonist is a vehicle for questioning the product of Japanese colonialism, the colonised subject not making a palpable stand against the coloniser.

Despite this contrapuntal challenge, the text depicts the protagonist as favourable to colonialist desires – passive and receiving colonisers' control voluntarily, even though reluctantly. Anguished between his need for protection and his dream of independence, he chooses the former in the end. In this sense,

he is a stereotyped Micronesian, a fixed Japanese view of her as lacking in self-reliance because she has been put under foreign rule for four hundred years. In addition, the Ponapeans are depicted as simpleminded as in colonialist discourse: they raise a riot because the Spanish does not give them glittering coins, force them to wear clothes, and forbid their dancing.

At the same time, the protagonist bears a close resemblance to modern Japan. Japan looked down on Asian and Pacific peoples (although each differently) and attempted to differentiate itself from them by Westernising itself although the West continued to regard it as an Asian nation and Japan located itself as a non-Western nation. The protagonist is to Spanish and Ponapean people what Japan is to the West and Asia. So, the text's conclusion echoes the fate of Japan under occupation indirectly through such a displacement. Accusing Western colonialism, the text also criticises the colonised – the Japanese – for their deficiency of *shutaisei* (individuality), which was a main subject in postwar Japan's journalism and which the Japanese considered every Western intellectual discourse contained (Miyoshi 97-98).² Long-standing state collectivism, now in the form of self-criticism, relativism and euphemism, is reaffirmed in the text, where the Pacific islanders are 'basically different (they are uncivilised) but partly similar (some of them are moderately civilised, short of *shutaisei*)' to the Japanese. From 'remote others' in the immediate postwar period, Micronesians turned back into 'close others' in Japanese discourse.

The rise of world support for decolonisation spread to the Pacific Islands in the 1960s after the successive births of the emergent countries of Africa. US scholars drew up the Solomon Report in 1963 at the request of the US government: a plan to continue to make military use of Micronesia without going against this current. It advanced the proposal to provide funds unsparingly to win the goodwill of the inhabitants. As proposed, the US government invested money for the welfare and education of Micronesians increasingly from 1965 onward, sending functionaries, medical doctors, and Peace Corps youths, without industrialising Micronesia (Izumi Kobayashi 172-

175). The net effect of this in cultural terms was to erase Japanese influences and substitute English institution and American values.

At this time of political transition from noninterference into appeasement, in 1965 *Omoide no Nanyo Gunto* (Recollections of the South Sea Islands) was published from the Nanyo Gunto Kyokai (South Sea Islands Society), the reminiscences of its members repatriated from 'the tragic South Sea Islands' (Nanyo Gunto Kyokai 234).

The reminiscences *Recollections of the South Sea Islands* emphasise their senses of affinity for Micronesia. The contributors consist of functionaries, teachers, scientists, medical doctors, traders, and farmers. They talk of their yearning for the 'paradisiacal' old days – misgivings about living in 'uncivilised' society, dreams of visiting tropical nature, relief to witness stores and houses and factories on streets, and efforts for development – rather than of their deplorable situations during the wartime.³ On the other hand, some speak for Micronesians of their longing for the period of Japan's rule and their attachment to Japanese people, and others maintain the necessity of extending Japanese enterprises to Micronesia and aiding its development. The issue of reparation to the Micronesians is told from the point of view that Japanese people should feel 'compassion' for the sacrifices of obedient, cooperative islanders, not from that of apology (206-207). For the contributors, Micronesian people are still 'Japanised islanders', 'different but similar natives'. What they reconfirmed and rediscovered twenty years after the Second World War (the Pacific War) was 'an earthly paradise', 'pitiable islanders', and 'the bonds of affection' between the Japanese and Micronesia and its people. The idea of 'Oriental', Japanese Micronesians,⁴ the Japanese language, dietary culture such as rice and soy sauce, remains of the war dead, and forthcoming 'aid' establish such bonds.

Since the late 1950s, Japanese popular cinema had also 'shifted its axis away from regret and atonement to rebuilding and rejuvenation' (Brophy 41). Accordingly, Godzilla turned from a monstrous destroyer and innocent bomb victim into a reliable protector of human beings. After playing a role of evil monster confronted with a good monster Mothra (*Mosura tai Gojira* [Mothra vs.

Godzilla, 1964]), Godzilla returns to do combat with King Ghidrah, a heinous three-headed dragon monster from space (*San Dai Kaiju Chikyu Saidai no Kessen* [Monster of the Monsters, Ghidrah, 1964]).

The period of the late 1960s to the 1970s, or of the eve of Japan's unprecedented economic growth, is marked with the rethinking of its history. The period of 'affirmative recognition of Japan's peculiarity' (Aoki) began in a new wave of nationalism, traditionalism, and romanticism in which Japan's pre-/war period came to be regarded as a 'past'. Japanese 'uniqueness' as the difference from the modern Western civilisations was no longer what must be criticised thoroughly but what should be inspected and affirmed as a main cause of the growth unparalleled on earth. This economic growth, however, did not necessarily lead to a general sense of well-being.

As Philip Brophy suggests, *Kaiju So Shingeki* (Parade of Monsters, 1968) is '[t]he wildest and most fantastic attempt to create a coherent fictional realm for the cohabitation of Godzilla and Japan' (41). In the film, a Pacific island is presented as a holiday resort as well as a high-tech penal colony where hidden cameras monitor monsters (Godzilla, Mothra, King Ghidrah, etc.) deported together to the island. The monsters appearing since the 1950s had all become 'natives' in a colony surviving on the tourist industry and ecological research. Japan re-colonised the Pacific in the movie. In the 1970s versions, Godzilla appears as heroic champion: Godzilla as 'a symbol of Japan's super-industrial strength' displaces Godzilla as 'a threat to super-industrialisation' (Brophy 41). The Godzilla films oscillate between these poles in subsequent versions. Godzilla and other tamed monsters team up against new stronger intruders such as Mechagodzilla.

This transition of cinematic monster stories is closely similar to the development of Keizo Shimada's cartoon story *Boken Dankichi* (Dankichi the Adventurous, 1933-1939). In this very popular prewar story set in a tropical island, the Japanese boy Dankichi, cast ashore on the island, turns cannibals (evil savages; 'distant others') into loveable subjects *kuronbo* (good natives; 'close others') to guard him from wild animals, white pirates, and other black tribes.

Dankichi (like the Japanese scientists and technicians in Godzilla films) with the aid of the docile and robust *kuronbo* (Godzilla and Mothra) can recruit those hostile animals and invaders (Ghidrah, etc.) into his military to fight against further invaders (Mechagodzilla, etc.). The monsters and the *kuronbo* are both ambivalent natives – once ferocious but now moderately reliable – distinguished from bad savages but feared for their potential to turn traitor. *Dankichi* and *Godzilla* are mirrors and amplifiers alike of a Japanese view of the Pacific as a horrible primeval world, but the latter represents a paradise not for civilised human beings but for inhuman monsters, compiling renewal modes of Japanese colonialist desires/fears.

Dankichi was republished in 1967 as the complete works prefaced with the author's reminiscences and issued in paperback in 1976. These republications implied a new wave of nationalism, traditionalism, and romanticism.⁵ *Dankichi* was revived as a 'classic' to inter Japan's colonialism, imperialism and racism as 'bygones'. Ichinosuke Takagi, a scholar of Japanese literature, also published his reminiscences in 1976 about an influential teaching article, 'Torakku-to Dayori' (A Letter from Truk), which he had written in Japan's state elementary school textbook in 1920 in the aftermath of Japan's seizure of Micronesia as its mandated territory. However, in their reminiscences, Shimada and Takagi reproduced Nanyo-Orientalism with which their works had been imbued originally.

According to Shimada, he could 'clear his conscience as a writer', convinced through his almost one-year stay on 'southern islands' that the dreamworld of *Dankichi* was 'not quite different [from the real southern islands] in human nature and customs' (1976, 2: 187-188). Needless to say, the qualms of conscience he felt are directed towards the readers, not towards indigenous people. He could come up with the romantic lighthearted idea of *Dankichi* by neglecting indigenous people, and in turn he exaggerated its reality just for the colonising readers, (depending on but) ignoring the colonised.

In his reminiscences, Takagi mentions other teaching material about Korea ('Souru no Tomo kara' [From a Friend in Seoul]), which he also wrote at

the time. Whereas his articles, 'Truk' and 'Seoul', are both 'bitter' memories, the reasons are different. Regarding 'Seoul', he regrets to say that 'the real error of the essay I wrote without so much as seeing practical Korea' consists in 'much more depth' than the 'lack of graphic realism', acknowledging that he is 'unable to avoid [his] responsibility for being an accomplice in a colonial policy' (Takagi 86). When it comes to 'Truk', however, his remorse is only for its unrealistic account. This difference shows the obstinacy of the political, ideological function of Nanyo-Orientalism ('singularity', 'benightedness' and 'beauty') to fog the real colonial rule and to alleviate the colonialist's sense of being guiltily complicit.

In addition, an artist and folklorist, Hisakatsu Hijikata, who was in the Nanyo cho's employ, was widely noticed, appearing on television to talk about Nanyo in 1973, and his collection of poems was also published immediately after his death in 1977 (Hijikata 1978a).⁶ On the other hand, the 'tragic' image of the Pacific was increasingly reproduced as war literature expressing 'an extreme inclination of human spirit' (Yukio Mishima's 'Preface', Funasaka 4) and as memories that should never be forgotten. Historical reconsideration of Japan's prewar southward advance and its discourse of Nanyo also began. Toru Yano's *Nanshin' no Keifu* (The Genealogy of 'Southward Advance', 1975) and *Nihon no Nanyo Shikan* (Japan's Historical View of the South Seas, 1979) are its earliest instances. Thus, pre/wartime Nanyo-Orientalism was reanimated in popular and academic discourses by means of preserving, regretting, recalling, overcoming and rethinking 'the past' of colonising/colonised Japan.

Notes

¹ In response, '[t]he Hollywood re-edited film plays on an American sense of guilt toward the Japanese in the early fifties, saying in effect, "look at what we've done/are doing to Japan." [...] both history and Japan's own filmic rendition are retextualized to erase the bomb and thereby relieve anxieties about the American occupation and H-bomb tests' (Noriega 63).

² Miyoshi also makes a point that lacking in an English equivalent, *shutaisei* is a native invention, meaning 'inclusively the agent of action, the subject of speculation or speech act, the identity of existence, and the rule of individualism' (98).

³ The US also featured a *South Pacific* revival in 1958 based on popular memories of war context (a movie version of love stories from James Michener's successful book, *Tales of the South Pacific* [1946], which had been made into a 'musical play' in 1949). Japanese

internal drive to remember the Pacific may also have served an external function of aligning Japan with the US through shared scholarly work on the Pacific.

⁴ The Mori Family in the Truk Islands is frequently mentioned. This comprised offspring of Koben Mori, called 'Boken Dankichi in the Meiji era', who visited Micronesia in 1892.

⁵ To the complete works, a former chief editor of *Shonen Kurabu* (Boys' Club), Kenichi Kato, comments that: 'It is now almost twenty-five or -six years since *Boken Dankichi* was completed. It is much likely that children's books and magazines will be lost unless they are worked up into a book. We must protect masterpieces from being destroyed'. Not only that, he delightedly presents an episode that at the time when 'Dankichi' was serialised, the author Shimada enshrined a picture of Dankichi wearing a crown and holding a spear in his household *Shinto* altar and offered libation (*sake* offered to a god). A postscript to the paperback version by a popular cartoonist, Osamu Tezuka, says that contemporary youngsters, who, although flying away all over the world, keep grieving about their having no ambition, should read and reevaluate 'this far and away romantic adventure story' (Kenichi Kato, '*Boken Dankichi* Oboegaki' [A Memo on *Dankichi the Adventurous*], and Osamu Tezuka, '*Boken Dankichi* no Miryoku' [Attractions of *Dankichi the Adventurous*], Shimada 1976, 4: 172, 1: 188). Dankichi, a former 'god' (a symbol of *nanshin*, southward advance), reappeared when a new generation of Japanese people began the economic advance into overseas markets.

⁶ His retrospective exhibition was held at the Setagaya Museum of Art, Tokyo, in 1991.

PART II

The South Seas and Nanyo: Colonial Writings in English and Japanese

Chapter 5

Origins of the Difference between South-Sea- and Nanyo-Orientalism

As indicated in the previous chapters, between the early Japanese castaway writings about the Pacific and the fully-fledged fictional romance writing of the 1930s there was a period of Westernisation that exposed readers and potential writers to Euro-American literature. This was accompanied by a cultural nationalism hostile to Western influence, so it is worth taking time to consider how literary modernisation took place and how the result was not just a direct copy of Western models, even in formulaic colonial romances of the Pacific.

Needless to say, representing (drawing/writing) is different from seeing or feeling. Representing has been closely related to science since the Renaissance age. Depicting 'realistically' has been most important to scientists, artists and writers who tried to describe the Pacific. This 'reality' could be acquired through the modern 'perspective drawing' and 'unification of the written and spoken language' through the Renaissance, Classical, and Modern age, which in Japan took place at a stretch as a state undertaking at the end of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, the relation between Japan's modernisation and

Japanese colonialist representations of the Pacific will be examined by focusing on such representational systems developed in Western Europe and disseminated worldwide along with Orientalism.

Perspectival 'colonial space' – Crusoe, Cook, and Melville

The Confucian world-view, which was predominant in *samurais* (Japanese warriors), the ruling-class people, also has a hierarchical system (as does the Christian world-view). In this world-view, however, space is not homogeneous: *iteki* (barbarians or foreign peoples outside the Chinese culture area, including monsters) dwelt in each of their heterogeneous conceptualised spaces. Between an encyclopaedic book by Confucian physician Ryoan Terashima, *Wakan Sansai Zue* (An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Japan and China, 1713) and a geography book by Dutch-studies scholar Churyo Morishima, *Bankoku Shinwa* (Hot News around the World, 1789), for example, the descriptions of *iteki* (except people in and around India, the centre of Buddhism) as demonic and inhuman are unchanged. As natural historian Gennai Hiraga depicted in his illuminating story *Furyu Shidoken Den* (A Life of Shidoken the Vagabond, 1763), the foreign worlds and peoples were generally conceived as nearly dreams and phantasms: in the story the protagonist can travel about the world by dint of a fan given by a hsien (immortal).

In the early nineteenth century, as we have seen in a previous chapter, some knowledge of the Pacific Islands as a result of Cook's voyages, together with the concept of 'race' based on physical characteristics, was acquired by Japanese intellectuals through Dutch books, Chinese books by Western missionaries, and so on. Both from the conventional and the new world-views (of Confucian, Japanese classical, and Dutch scholars), Pacific peoples could be regarded as inferior and uncivilised Others. But in Japan in the Edo period, this racial discrimination did not have a premise of 'homogeneous space' based on perspective as in modern Europe. Knowledge described in classical Chinese or Japanese by Japanese intellectuals, whether Confucian, Japanese classical, or

Western learning scholars/writers, was under the influence of Chinese concepts and the constructive power of Chinese writing.

The 'homogeneous space' was viable in Europe only through a construction to gain an empty, unobstructed view from a (vanishing) point. And this construction could be constituted only in Christian values (Karatani 1988, 191-200).

The new perspective representation was invented in sixteenth-century Western Europe. The worldview as the gathering of heterogeneous spaces was depicted in the two-century world map of Ptolemy: the descendants of Japhet, Shem, and Ham (the three sons of Noah) dwelt in Europe, Asia, and the more barren land, Africa, respectively. In the margins of the map monsters were distributed. They were believed to inhabit forests and seas, the other side of the three human territories. The monsters embodied whatever lay beyond the definitional boundaries of 'the European', and were kept alive in the spheres unknown to the European people even in the mid-eighteenth century, at the height of the Enlightenment. Science represented this worldview as the 'medieval' 'magical' and 'savage'. The Enlightenment was, in a sense, a movement of rewriting and systematising the magical worlds (the non-European) into the 'realistic' ones by means of natural history supported by the modern European perspective representation, that is, a mathematical construction. (And the last remaining magical sphere was the Pacific.) Erwin Panofsky makes a point that:

the perspectival view, whether it is evaluated and interpreted more in the sense of rationality and the objective, or more in the sense of contingency and the subjective, rests on the will to construct pictorial space, in principle, out of the elements of, and according to the plan of, empirical visual space (although still abstracted considerably from the psychophysiological "givens"). Perspective mathematizes this visual space, and yet it is very much *visual* space that it mathematizes; it is an ordering, but an ordering of the visual phenomenon. [...]

Through this peculiar carrying over of artistic objectivity into the domain of the

phenomenal, perspective seals off religious art from the realm of the magical, where the work of art itself works the miracle, and from the realm of the dogmatic and symbolic, where the work bears witness to, or foretells, the miraculous. But then it opens it to something entirely new: the realm of the visionary, where the miraculous becomes a direct experience of the beholder, in that the supernatural events in a sense erupt into his own, apparently natural, visual space and so permit him really to “internalize” their supernaturalness. (71-72)

In the Enlightenment upheld by such a mathematical absorptive perspective, people believed that all the peoples were the members of one human family and at the same time that Europeans reached a higher state of human perfection. The peoples in ‘inarticulate’ worlds were no longer ‘different in kind’. They were ‘homogeneous but different (inferior)’ – ‘distant relatives’ – to the Europeans.

On the other hand, the ‘supernatural’ worlds were ‘internalised’, preserved and reinstalled in the form of colonial romance. Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) is the progenitorial work of such romance. As Bill Pearson asserts, empirical knowledge on the Pacific compiled by explorers was based, sometimes in a dramatised or distorted way, on *Crusoe*, the only book that ‘Rousseau would allow his model pupil Emile to read’ (25). Science (a ‘horizontal’ technology for expansion and division) and romance (a vertical/centripetal model of power and representation) were on complementary terms to support colonialism.

Indeed the text has some connection with the narrative of Alexander Selkirk in the Juan Fernandez Islands, and at the same time it stands up on its preceding medieval chivalry tales and plays. It takes over the adventurism celebrated in those tales and Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1611) and glorifies the colonialist discourse of the play.

The novel form was established under the condition that literacy, printing and colonialism had made remarkable progress. In *Crusoe*,

voyage, self-discovery, domination, expropriation, and accumulation equally occupy

its narrative space. The voyager from England's lower middle class sailed into an "empty" space and became its governor and its ruler, just as a novelist charts a story on blank pages, with no agreed-on rules guiding the advance. Crusoe's island is a colonialist's utopia, just as the novel as a printed narrative form is a colonial utopian space in which the subject meets the objects in a struggle for mastery. (Miyoshi 57)

The novel's lengthy narrative space made up of 'voyage, self-discovery, domination, expropriation, and accumulation' – large-scale pilgrimages, confession, colonialism, and capitalism, all those based on European science and Protestantism – corresponds to modern measurable systematic space (Galilean and Cartesian models) of the subject/object. *Crusoe's* 'naturalism' – depicting the human figure as distinguished from nature, or viewing the landscape as the 'landscape' – was made possible when in such homogeneous space, conversion of social classes is made possible such as a lowly tramp changing into a noble person. Crusoe, a lower middle-class Englishman, changes in his voyages, into a slave in Africa, a man of property in Brazil, and the master of a native in the Caribbean, and converts the native, a heathen cannibal, to a Protestant named Friday. As opposed to such 'free' border transgressions of the European protagonist, the narrative space is ruled by the plot of adventure (captivity and rescue) and colonialist narrative structural patterns of good/evil savages and good/evil Europeans (Crusoe/pirates).

As the narrative plot and patterns regulate the expanse of the narrative time and space, so the amount of ink remaining and the sorts of tools available place restrictions on Crusoe's rule of time and space of his island. To put it the other way around, Crusoe looks so 'free' despite such a material restraint. Indeed, he emphasises that he is self-determining, acting on his own 'initiative'. Although he is not aware, what binds him is not only physical, however: he cannot help being concerned about God. The narrating Crusoe repeatedly confesses the blasphemy of the narrated Crusoe, his past self, against God and shows his repentance. *Crusoe* is a confession as well as an adventure story. While the narrative of adventure gives some outer extent to the narrative space,

the confession creates the inner world in it: the form of confession produces Crusoe's interiority in the text.

So adventure/confession (facing savages/God; using guns/the Bible) are of great importance for Crusoe not only to narrate his story but also to dominate Friday. They are indispensable to colonial dominance. The adventure leads Crusoe to encounter Friday; the interiority created by confession in Crusoe and Friday makes them 'ideal' subjects as the coloniser and colonised.

Yet *Crusoe* shows middle-class anti-heroism undercutting the romance. In a sense, it is a negative form of chivalrous values such as filial piety, bravery, benevolence, decorum, respect for women, putting down the strong and helping the weak and so forth, which people of high birth supported. It is also distant from love romance, very few female characters figuring very few times in the novel. He does not refrain from putting his own interest first, making voyages in defiance of his parents. Far from being courageous, he is almost always scared of danger. He does not hesitate to shoot animals and birds dead and eat them and also attempts to defy the providence of Nature (although he asserts that he acts according to it). On an isolated island in the Caribbean, he constructs a comfortable residence enclosed with a palisade through his sustained labour with tools that he gained from his wrecked ship. After that, he records in his diary what has happened on the island, tracing back to the day he was cast ashore to the island. The narrating Crusoe relates the labour of the narrated Crusoe in detail and shows the record by the latter although it repeats what the former has narrated before. Crusoe's island and narrative space, both 'colonial utopian space[s]', are artificial, not very romantic utopias constructed under the restrictions.

It was Cook's voyage in the Pacific that made it possible to subsume the Pacific and its islanders under the 'colonial space'. Captain Cook's voyages to the Pacific occurred immediately before the full onset of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. What made possible the voyages far from the homeland was not only victory in the Seven Years' War in 1763 that affected political stability, but the developments in scientific thought that also required a search for more

knowledge in order to improve agriculture and develop technology. With this increase of the importance of science – natural history, which Linnaeus's work revolutionised – the status of drawing as a vehicle to inform the actual world was raised, which had been made light of as compared with drawing as a means to create the exotic world since the sixteenth century. With this change, 'empirical naturalism' began to supersede 'classical naturalism', the academic tradition with humanism at heart, although both views regarded art as an imitation of nature (Smith ix).

Classical naturalism had highlighted the human figure, portraying human beings as the master of nature and the measure of all things; empirical naturalism focused on plants and animals, depicting the human figure as subject to natural laws. Bernard Smith points out that the artists of Cook's voyages played a key role in forming an artistic compositional mode fitted for empirical naturalism (65). Through Cook's three voyages – Smith calls the first voyage the botanical voyage, the second, the meteorological voyage, and the third, the ethnographic voyage – empirical naturalism developed with its focus shifted from plants and animals, through weather and light, to human beings.

Cook's artists attempted to draw people in order to be of service to scientists whose concerns were nature, reason and humanity (these ideas had been produced by discovering man, through 'perspective', as 'the subject' who was alienated from the outside world, dialoguing only with God). Yet before John Webber (Cook's official artist on his third voyage in 1777-1780), artists had not still achieved a way of drawing man as a type just as in depicting plants and animals.¹ As Bernard Smith suggests, unlike drawing plants, animals, and artefacts, depicting people did not depend only upon stereotypes (Eurocentric tastes, whether paradisaical or purgatory, closely related to theological motifs), but rather more upon the cordial relationship to them and the imagination linked with sensibility, sensitivity, and sympathy (94).

John Webber portrayed the ethnic varieties with empirical naturalism. However, the depiction of ethnic types was within the above-mentioned Enlightenment conviction in which Eurocentric distinctions of peoples had not

had scientific grounds yet. (It was not until the nineteenth century that the concept of 'race' did begin to affect art [Smith 47].) According to Smith, it was a book on anatomy that helped Webber to portray Pacific peoples. The book, first written in Italian in the late seventeenth century, was filled with engravings of anatomical models of the human body designed in perspective. As with other artists who depicted people on Cook's voyages, Webber's depiction of peoples was based on his observation of individuals (Smith 181-186). But by making use of the models of the human body (provided by the sculptors of ancient Greece) as common to all the peoples, he could draw the peoples as ethnographic types classified in dress, ornament, tattoo, and hairstyle.

Anatomy premised an 'empty body' (through perspective representation) for separating human body (human cranium) from its mind. For classifying human beings on the basis of such measurable body, it was necessary to erase from Linnaeus's classified table *Homo monstrosus* that was put in the same category as *Homo sapiens*. In this sense, Cook's voyage was an event of great significance. Cook's voyages also negated the symmetrical worldview by denying the existence of Ptolemy's *Terra Australis Incognita* balanced with the north landmass. From the nineteenth-century perspective set up after Cook's voyages, the world no longer needed to be symmetry: the European subject was no longer set in the 'centre' of the symmetrical world but at the 'top' of temporal and spatial strata.

As a result of Cook's voyages, the Pacific or the 'South Seas' and its peoples were taken into a homogeneous space seen through from a vanishing point in perspective. 'Empirical nationalism' was applied to depiction of human beings. This formed the bases for comparative anatomy to partition human beings into 'races'² on the one hand, and for geography to divide the 'South Seas' into Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia on the other. These geographical categories – a 'nineteenth-century colonial construct' – were 'heavily implicated in the hierarchies of race produced by Pacific colonial discourse' (Edmond 15). These categorical terms were common knowledge in the Western world after the mid-nineteenth century (and even are 'already part of the cultural consciousness

of the peoples of Oceania' [Hau'ofa 1999, 38]). Like this geographical categorisation, the racial taxonomy was fundamentally a drawing, using empirical knowledge but predicated on superempirical one or mathematics, and developed in step with the extension of colonial expansionism.³

The early accounts on the Pacific by seamen, sailors, scientists, and missionaries such as Bougainville, Cook, the Forsters, James Wilson, William Ellis, and Charles Wilkes, and their popularity in Europe and North America fostered 'South Sea' discourses of primitivism, adventurism, and racism. Narratives of good Polynesians and evil Melanesians, impermanent transracial love, and the need for Christian conversion of heathen savages were stereotyped. Only after the period of eager 'scientific' explorations in the Pacific of sailors and missionaries – after the Enlightenment or the 'flat' realism of modern scientific consciousness domesticated non-Europeans on a world-wide scale – was Defoe's semi-romance more romanticised. With ambiguity of reaction to such 'realism' and a desire to conquer the fearful 'unknowns', colonial romance functioned as an experimental theatre to re-present 'unscientific' discourse, imposing 'unrealistic' settings on overseas colonies. In the mid-nineteenth century, preparing for the period of the full-scale competition for Pacific colonies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, two most renowned, archetypal Pacific romances were written: Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846) and Robert Michael Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858).

As the first work based on the author's first-hand experiences in the Pacific (although it contains fiction)⁴, *Typee* was to stimulate South Sea writers of future generations such as Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, Pierre Loti, and Jack London. *Typee* has scepticism about European civilisation, enlightenment, and evangelism, which caused public censure while it was widely read. In the text, Melville depicts both satirical criticism of modernity's self-righteousness and inevitable nationalism and Christian values, which were both to be inherited by following 'South Sea writers', as will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

Although *Typee* and *The Coral Island* – novels in the form of 'confession' –

can be both regarded as representative Pacific romance, the former contradictorily looks anti-imperialist, and the latter, canonically pro-imperialist. However, as will be shown in the next chapter, the normative colonialist text by Ballantyne could come into existence only after the successful emergence of *Typee*, which seemingly opposes such discourses.

By way of the heyday of natural history,⁵ such an 'artificial' paradise as Crusoe constructs on his islet has no longer appeal to *Typee*'s protagonist-narrator, an American whaler, Tom (called Tommo by the natives). Instead, the story depicts an immaculate 'natural' paradise like the Judeo-Christian Edenic Paradise in the Typee Valley where he stays for about four months.

But *Typee* has many contradictions. It inherits Crusoe's dread of cannibalistic natives, describing the colonialist desire for a natural paradise along with anxiety. Tom hopes that the valley into which he has wandered belongs to the Happars, who are reputed to be kind and gentle among Euro-Americans, worried that the residents may be the Typees, notorious cannibals. He finds it an earthly paradise, but fear of cannibalism (indigenisation) always haunts him. This paradise is not completely natural but accompanied with inscrutable intricate taboos. He admires the noble-savage-like chieftain Mehevi, who, however, looks too rigid and militant. Although Fayaway, an emblem of primitive beauty and his local sweetheart, makes him think that the tribe of which she is a member ought not to be man-eaters, she is likely to be an out-islander. Kory-Kory, his friendly attendant, is the only native with whom he can somehow manage to communicate, but seems his watchman ordered to fatten him for sacrificing.

For the protagonist, therefore, US economic imperialism,⁶ French military imperialism, and Protestant missions are censurable destructive power of the natural paradise on the one hand, helpful to relieve him from the accompanying fears on the other. These contradictory attitudes towards colonising and colonised subjects are intrinsic in the text. Although accusing modern states' imperial and evangelical powers, *Typee*, published in London and New York, disseminated a strong image of 'immaculate cannibals', whose existence, in

colonialist discourses, justifies forcible colonial rule and conversion to Christianity. So it can be regarded as conspiring with those powers to activate colonialist discourses (regardless of the author's intention). But on the other hand, it is possible to read some aspects intervening in colonialist discourses from the narration of Tom, who looks too unstable, weak, diffident, and unheroic for an adventurer in romance. It is inappropriate to think of the text as wholly imperialist or anti-imperialist.

His body in Nuku Hiva makes its way through and vacillates between the dichotomies of the civilised/uncivilised, adult/child and health/illness that were all produced in the Modern age. Although under the situation of the gradual progress of Western colonialisms in the Marquesas Islands, Tom should be an important information source for the native people, he is useless: he is afraid that they would regard him as 'some inferior sort of white man, who after all did not know much more than a Typee' (Melville 219).

The forms of novel and 'confession' are closely related, which were in collusion with modern colonialism, as has been mentioned. *Typee's* narrator Tom's 'confession' is no longer directed to God. What forms the length of the narration is not so much confession of gratitude or penitence towards God (as is in *Crusoe*) as reports of 'facts' and 'truth' regarding the natives towards readers. *Typee's* confession of the 'truth' is in connection to criticism of European civilisation and Christian missionary activities, criticism that should be hidden. But including its form of 'confession', Tom's view of the world is shaped by underlying Christian values:

The Marquesas! What strange visions of outlandish things does the very name spirit up! Lovely houris – cannibal banquets – groves of cocoa-nuts – coral reefs – tattooed chiefs – and bamboo temples; sunny valleys planted with bread-fruit-trees – carved canoes dancing on the flashing blue waters – savage woodlands guarded by horrible idols – *heathenish rites and human sacrifices*. (13; the author's emphasis)

The words used to represent the natives – 'cannibalism', 'tattoo', 'taboo',

'superstitious', 'unsophisticated', 'thoughtless', 'unanimity', 'eating raw fish' – are all epitomised by the term 'heathen'. Tom does not play such a role of missionary as Crusoe does. The natives are more depicted as part of 'nature' than is Friday, their interiority described less explicitly. However, to Melville (and us readers) who already obtained the Christian notion of 'nature/interiority', Kory-Kory, for example, looks as if he held out some interiority, which is incomprehensible to the author but apt to be interpreted as 'indigenuity' in anthropological 'knowledge' of the Other. Although of course the natives, heathens, surely also have their interiority, they do not recognise it as 'interiority' (just as nature had been existing before it was 'discovered' as 'nature'). Nevertheless, such 'interiority' (discovered through 'confession' and expressed in perspective representation or 'modern literature') cannot help being under the influence of Christian views, when described. Seemingly, what is of importance to the narrator is 'knowledge' instead of 'God'. But such 'knowledge' itself – Tom's report – is chosen in terms of Christianity. Here also science and religion complement each other.

Typee depicts the natives as 'similar but different'. In the narrative, Tom's escape from the whaler that he joined as a crewmember at the beginning of the story obviously corresponds to his flight from the native village at its end. For him, the oppressive discipline in the ship and the enigmatic taboo in the village are both horrible fetters that suppress and regulate his 'self' and transform it into other subjects qualified for a member of each community. The ship and the village are both 'prisons' for him. Tom and his fellow fugitive, Toby, encounter a native pair en route to a native village with the uncertainty of whether they are headed for the Happars or Typees.

The frightened pair now stood still, whilst we endeavored to make them comprehend the nature of our wants. In doing this Toby went through with a complete series of pantomimic illustrations – opening his mouth from ear to ear, and thrusting his fingers down his throat, gnashing his teeth and rolling his eyes about, till I verily believe the poor creatures took us for a couple of *white cannibals* who were about to

Thus, the term 'cannibal' is used as a signifier indicating both the identity and alterity both to Euro-Americans and Pacific native people. For Tom, in terms of fear of 'cannibalism', both parties are identical. In the end, however, Tom returns to a crewmember of an Australian vessel, unable to bear the misgivings of being sacrificed for cannibalism. The native village is no more than a temporary residence for him. Tom desperately rejects assimilation to the people through the indigenous arts of medicine and tattoo, let alone cannibalism.

It is true, as has been seen now, that *Typee*'s depiction is influenced by such a conventionally fixed modern scientific/Christian perspective. But Tom's body is not a stable receptacle, rebelling against European modernity. Tom's injury in his leg is 'mysterious' (142): its repeated recovery and aggravation are inexplicable from the modern medical viewpoint. So, in the text his magical body functions both as supporting an enigmatic (romantic) colonial space and as resisting perspectival (scientific) colonial space. The 'incomprehensibility' of the South Seas that he repeats in the narration affects his body. In the text, 'body' is depicted as diverse. Tom's feeling changes according to his physical condition: although the natives' emotion is enigmatic for Tom, in the text what is really 'enigmatic' is Tom. It seems that Melville undertakes dismantling the modern European common sense of 'consistent self' through Tom as Atsushi Nakajima does in his Micronesian characters (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, the 'queer' body of Tom is seen as unnatural and unrealistic in the text (as the narrator's word 'mysterious' shows). Such a rebellious, anti-modernistic attempt is quite artificial for the author who has the subject as a Euro-American deeply influenced by Christian worldviews. Nakajima, although a quite Westernised Japanese, could feel a sense of incongruity to, and relativise such a notion of 'the subject' or 'an empty space' to some extent because of his groundwork of the Chinese classics from childhood. As seen below, the 'enigmatic' body depicted out of perspective was natural for the Japanese before the 1890s.

Japan's modernisation of representation and *monogatari* as Japanese 'colonial space'

Such a concept of 'empty space', although perspective representation was imported since the closing days of the Tokugawa regime, would be almost inconceivable for the Japanese in the Edo period. They lived in a status system (as medieval Europeans in a sense) and did not have an absolute God or a single divine representative in power. In general, there were many gods to be enshrined and Tenno [the Emperor], *shogun*, and feudal lords were all authorities to be simultaneously revered.⁷ Under the Meiji State, too, which held up centralisation of state power to the Emperor and abolished status system, there were virtually two centres of Meiji Tenno and the Government composed of the leaders of the Restoration of 1868. 'Meiji Ishin' (Renovation) was 'restoration', not total Westernisation.

For the Japanese to achieve 'homogeneous time and space' which was needed to denounce feudalism and accept modernism (to escape and resist the Western colonialist powers) modernisation of literary Japanese – denial of *kanji* (Chinese characters in the Japanese written language) and modification of the conventional literary style – was necessary. Denial of *kanji* was grounded on the intention to simplify the Japanese writing system by unifying the written and spoken language after the model of Western languages (for the purpose of educational efficiency).⁸

European languages subjugated their written languages under their spoken languages. Written words were believed to copy colloquial speech (despite the fact that the latter was transformed in accordance with printed words with type). The written language was regarded as a transparent medium reproducing 'voices' from the interior of people as they are. Just as perspective drawing, such writing suppressed the conventional concepts or figures of things (multifaceted bodies) and produced a 'homogeneous', 'isotropic', 'deep' space and body on a flat surface.

Kanji was, as it were, a conceptualised picture or image out of perspective

originally. It has continued to exist up to now. Nevertheless, under the idea of its denial, it was reduced to a more transparent tool to transcribe phonetic sounds (inner voice), like *kana* (the Japanese syllabary). (Issues of *kanji* will be mentioned again in the next chapter.) The movement for modification of the former literary style, or creation of a new literary style in which people felt as if the written and spoken language were unified, was promoted by writers through translating and adapting Western writings. The movement was also a national undertaking: the government established the 'national literature' course at the Empire University of Tokyo to study Japanese and Chinese 'classics' – it institutionalised 'literature' and divided it into 'pre-modern (classics)' and 'modern'. 'Modern Japanese literature' was shouldered mainly by prose writers who denied *gesaku*, popular fiction in the Edo period, and used the new writing system, which was put on a firm footing in the late 1890s.

Importantly, most of these writers came from the former ruling-class families (*samurai*), now no longer people of high rank but 'commoners' as a result of the collapse of the feudal society. It was Christianity that helped such people with resentment set up a 'subjectivity' and 'interiority' by subjecting themselves to an absolute God (whether they were Christians or not). The 'confession' produced the conceptual structures of 'self/other', 'subject/object', and 'inner/outer worlds'. And the new written language enabled them to describe their inner and outer worlds 'naturally' and 'realistically' (Karatani 1988, 108-126).

The establishment of the new literary style, or modern Japanese literature, was deeply concerned in that of modern social political institutions (imported from and modelled on the West) by the Meiji State. Around 1890, the Meiji State finished formulating a basic system of modern nation-state, and writers – descendants of *samurais* – began the campaign for 'unification of the written and spoken language'. The realisation of the Meiji State as a modern state around 1890 by the leaders of the Meiji Restoration meant the breakdown of the democratic movement through which descendants of *samurais* claimed their participation in political power. At the same time, it brought decline of *seiji*

shosetsu (political novels), which had been popular in the 1880s. In *seiji shosetsu* writers made up spectacular fictional worlds and idealised heroes by laying their settings in deeply conceptualised, non-everyday places such as Nanyo (after the model of Western adventure stories such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*). It was written in conventional literary style. On the other hand, the kind of *shosetsu* (novels) which had their settings in meaningless-seeming, everyday places and had only mediocre characters, began to be written in the late 1880s, modelled on nineteenth-century Western 'naturalistic' novels. The writers of such *shosetsu* were to be regarded as pioneers in modern Japanese literature, and promoted the movement for 'unification of the written and spoken language'. Thus, the anti-establishment intellectuals culminated in complementing the Establishment.

The renovation of the literary style spelled a change of its model from the Chinese writing into the modern Western writing. Ever since ancient times (the eighth century or so), under the expansion and arrangement of the Tenno system, *monogatari* ('myths', folktales, *Noh* songs, etc.) described chaos in spatial and social peripheries, which was produced necessarily through centralisation of power. *Monogatari* depicted mediations, from view points of the 'centre', between the centre and the periphery, the order and the disorder, and everyday and non-everyday spheres, all these dichotomies constructed in imitation of Chinese political, social, and cultural systems under the Tenno system that was set up as the anti-Chinese Empire power. So *monogatari* functioned (like Western colonial romance) as a technology to cope with chaos in the Empire. 'Histories' and *monogatari* were complementary to one another, and they, written in Chinese or Japanese, could be produced only by borrowing the constructive disposition in Chinese classics.

Nanyo was depicted as chaos to be reclaimed in *seiji shosetsu*. *Seiji shosetsu* was, it may be said, an extension of *monogatari*, which 'modern literature' attempted to abandon. In Ryukei Yano's *Ukishiro Monogatari* (The Story of the Floating-castle, 1890), the protagonist Seitaro Kamii joins a battleship, the *Ukishiro* (floating castle), for Madagascar, together with the

captain with great charisma (called 'President') and his men. (The protagonist's first name indicates 'pure Japanese man', and his surname is related to the first 'Emperor' of legend, now called Jinmu.) Through his contact with the captain, the protagonist, a poor young man, comes to life again as a *samurai*-like hero. They annihilate cannibals, drive away a Dutch fleet, and domesticate meek islanders in Nanyo. On the other hand, *nanshin ron* (the discourse of southward advance) was also like *monogatari*. Such books were written around 1890 in the conventional written language by descendants of *samurais* out of power such as Shigetaka Shiga, Ukichi Taguchi, Teifu Suganuma, and Tsunenori Suzuki. They highlighted uninhabited or 'uncivilised' islands in Micronesia and Southeast Asia as places remaining to be opened by the Japanese. Emigration to Nanyo, in succession to Ezo (Hokkaido), was regarded as an important way out of financial trouble of descendants of *samurais* and the Japanese population problem. Writers of both *seiji shosetsu* and *nanshin ron* adopted social Darwinism, and some of them made a point of a blood relation of the Japanese and the islanders and asserted the islanders' liberation from the Western colonisers by the Japanese. The natives in Nanyo depicted in them were much the same as those in geography books by Dutch studies scholars or records of castaways in the Edo period. Nanyo in those works was nearly a mere copy of the 'South Seas' written in Western geography books. *Seiji shosetsu* and *nanshin ron* around 1890, long romantic prose/essays written in traditional style under the influence of the unheroic hero Crusoe, just functioned as technologies to reclaim peripheries (overseas colonies) of the epigonic empire.

In those Japanese texts as well as Western texts, native people are often likened to 'children'. A 'child', a concept that Rousseau expressed as 'natural man', was not a child distinct from an adult as in the past, but a continuum with an 'adult'. With this continuity as a premise, 'children' were separated from 'adults', interned to schools also in Japan immediately after the Meiji Restoration. Under modern school education systems, 'children' were no longer regarded as 'little adults' working with adults as apprentices, but as 'innocent' 'pure' 'wild' beings and became 'objects' of observation, study, and literature. And

at the same time, such a division of 'adult/child' produced that of 'labour/play' (Karatani 1988, 155-187). The 'uncivilised, colonised natives' in overseas colonies were easily associated with the 'immature, uneducated children' in their home country. They are both 'basically same but now different' for 'civilised adults'. However, as will be suggested later, Pacific natives are not always depicted as such in Japanese texts.

'Modern Japanese literature', as well as *nanshin ron*, came to play a real nationalistic role of *monogatari* in an official way as the Japanese imperial power further advanced into South East Asia in the 1940s. Since the late 1930s and especially in the early 1940s, 'modern Japanese literature' was, by and large, in line with national policy and the state encouraged and forced writers to visit and write about colonised Nanyo (Micronesia and South East Asia) under the war regime. But before that, Nanyo was described mainly in 'adventure stories' (as the South Seas in the West). After 'modern Japanese literature' had pushed its way by distinguishing itself from *monogatari*, adventure stories (written first in the 1900s in the new written language by Shunro Oshikawa and raising the morale of the *samurais*) took over the role of *monogatari* which *seiji shosetsu* had once played.

Those adventure stories (new popular version of *monogatari*) were main sites for describing Japanese heroes' contacts – conquest, management, and friendship – with the Pacific through modern scientific technologies and traditional chivalrous ethics. Tales of Japanese heroic exploits were eagerly accepted among the common people in Japan's victory over China in 1895 and Russia in 1905 – the period that Japan had joined in the Western imperial powers.

When two long-cherished desires of Japan were accomplished in the early 1910s – its colonisation of the Korean Peninsula and complete abolition of unequal treaties with Western powers concluded in the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate – popular versions of colonialist *monogatari* declined. On the other hand, more realistic- or scientific- as well as more romantic-looking *monogatari* appeared. *Nanshin ron* was handed down, written especially in the

1910s (by Yosaburo Takekoshi, Kiyoshi Inoue, Yasoroku Soejima, and so on). Especially after the Japanese Navy's occupation of Micronesia in 1914, *nanshin ron* became more realistic and practical, on the whole.

Nanyo *monogatari* functioned as a truly 'modern' device to reclaim the colonised immediately after the League of Nations had approved of Japan's mandatory rule over Micronesia. The scholar of Japanese literature Ichinosuke Takagi's 'Torakku-to Dayori' (A Letter from Truk), written in a 1920 State geography textbook, is such a 'modern' *monogatari*.⁹ As we have seen in Chapter 2, it is a romantic trope, depicting not heroically but courteously a beautiful and favourable tropical environment and such a native girl singing Japan's national anthem. It pressed on Micronesia and its peoples a new, standardised 'body' of 'Nanyo gunto' (the South Sea Islands) as 'kodo' (Tenno's territory) and that of 'Nanyo dojin' (South Sea natives) as 'komin' (Tenno's subjects). In Japanese discourse, Tenno was (frequently is) the 'absolute and close other', so to speak, the being that the Japanese always attempted to identify with and never could. So, the natives were seen as such 'others', beings that attempted to identify with the Japanese (Tenno) and never could. Here Japan's colonial power had transformed 'remote others' as 'a different race' in 'a different space' (since in the early nineteenth-century geography books and castaways' records) into the colonised as 'different but similar subjects (of Tenno)' in 'a different but continuous space (with Japan)' – 'close others'. This view was to be projected into Japan's colonial policy. The native children experienced the 'corporal reform' through 'standard Japanese', Japan's national anthem, and marching at school just as those of the native Japanese underwent, although separated from Japanese children.

Such similarity discourse was linked with the concept of 'race'. While people lost interest in Nanyo after the Washington Conference, the naval officer Shizuo Matsuoka kept his zeal for it. As his powerful elder brother Kunio Yanagita, a literary man and colonial agricultural administration officer in Korea, founded Japanese folklore after his political failure,¹⁰ so Matsuoka played an important role in Micronesian ethnology after the transition of

military rule into civil administration in Micronesia. His *Mikronesia Minzokushi* (Micronesian Ethnography, 1927) and Tadao Yanaihara's *Nanyo Gunto no Kenkyu* (A Study of the South Sea Islands, 1935) were and still are often used.

Both of these brothers attempted to differentiate their studies from Western ethnology and discover the 'home' of the 'Japanese race' differently, through Okinawa and Micronesia (Kawamura 1996, 165). The concept of 'race' was transformed in Japanese political, historical and cultural contexts when it was translated as *minzoku*. Yanagita and Matsuoka were also not interested in Okinawans or Micronesians themselves but in those peoples and their cultures as the 'origin' of the Japanese. For them, however, this 'origin' now consisted in unidentifiable, absolute 'others' (but Japanised in some degree), not in the 'homogeneous space/time'. The classification of 'race' was, as we have seen, on the assumption of such a 'space/time', while *minzoku* aimed at assimilation on the assumption of diversity.

Colonial romance, in English or Japanese, is equipped both with modern scientific devices (perspective, 'transparent' written language, idea of 'race', anthropological knowledge) and traditional views (religious values, 'magic') – realism and romanticism, or reason and emotion. Yet the latter was required to reappear only after the former conquered the latter. The West's *Robinson Crusoe* and Japan's *The Story of the Floating-castle*, not yet complete with those modern devices, criticise traditional values, though having their roots deep in the values. To the contrary, Melville's and Takagi's texts can be seen as unmodern 'romances', but they are based on modern scientific consciousness. In these texts written before Western powers' South Sea struggles from the 1870s / Japan's enthusiastic Nanyo boom in the 1930s, the characters are unheroic, filled with anxieties in unfamiliar colonial spaces.

Perspective representation produced the view of foreigners as 'same but different', which was congenial to the Christian view of them (the sons of men, offspring of Adam). In Japanese contexts, such modern consciousness did not derive from traditional views but was one instantly borrowed from the outside

and appropriated under the menace of Western expansionism. Neither perspective nor Christianity could erase the Japanese conventional view of foreigners, in concert with the fact that Japan's modernisation did not abolish the Tenno system. The subtle but decisive difference (of 'identical but different' and 'different but identical') became evident as differences of representations in colonial texts only when Japan came to regard itself as an autonomous empire, no longer as an inferior imitator of the Western powers. And the differences are more evident in more heroic empire boys depicted in *The Coral Island* and *Dankichi the Adventurous*, as will be shown in the next chapter.

Notes

¹ This does not mean, of course, that Europeans did not see people as 'types'. As in Shakespeare's plays, for example, people were viewed as generic cultural or regional types.

² The modern concept of 'race' was produced from comparative anatomy: Johann Friedrich Blumenbach divided humanity into Caucasian (white), Mongolian (yellow), Malayan (brown), Ethiopian (black) and American (red) races. He insisted on his theories by investigating the human cranium, but his division was based on colour. What enabled Blumenbach to divide human beings was, for one thing, the concept and precedents of 'classification'. In the late seventeenth century, François Bernier postulated a number of distinctive human categories, based largely on facial character and skin colour. The Linnaean project of nomenclature, as Mary Louise Pratt suggests, was a project that put the observer out of sight (32). This corresponded to the method of a vanishing point in perspective. And Linnaeus himself attempted to classify people. While the classification of plants meant to divide homogeneous creatures, the worlds of animals were still heterogeneous. First, from the quadrupeds he grouped Homo, only writing about it 'Know thyself', and divided it into Homo sapiens and Homo monstrosus. Then, by 1758, he divided Homo sapiens into six varieties:

- a. Wild Man. Four-footed, mute, hairy.
- b. American. Copper-colored, choleric, erect. Hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide; face harsh; beard scanty; obstinate, content, free. Paints himself with fine red lines. Regulated by customs.
- c. European. Fair, sanguine, brawny; hair yellow, brown, flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with close vestments. Governed by laws.
- d. Asiatic. Sooty, melancholy, rigid. Hair blacks; eyes dark; severe, haughty, covetous. Covered with loose garments. Governed by opinions.
- e. African. Black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzled; skin silky; nose flat, lips tumid; crafty, indolent, negligent. Anoints himself with grease. Governed by caprice. (Pratt 32)

This centralising mode of arrangement indicates that Linnaeus had not obtained a vertical high-and-low perspective seen in the nineteenth-century Europe (Hegelian dialectic, Darwinian evolutionism): his eighteenth-century perspective only had a horizontal 'depth', needing the symmetrical construction. The hierarchical concept of 'race' with the white at the top and the black at the bottom ('Wild Man' was no longer necessary for making symmetry) was formed in the nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century, 'science' – perspective representation – homogenised and made

empty ('natural'), and then, divided and stratified time as well as space. The new perspective connected time and space – through the French Revolution or the realisation of an 'imagined community' – under the umbrella of a transparent land and unified written language and history (Benedict Anderson). It led to the ideology of maturity, development, and progress and made possible the association of 'ancient people', 'non-Europeans', 'children', 'the uncivilised' and 'savages' with one another.

³ Agreeing to Blumenbach's theories, Pieter Camper revealed racial distinction by the 'facial angle' to determine human intelligence. Camper's theory was grounded on drawing the human profiles in a mathematical way – he was trained as an artist before starting anatomical studies. The concept of 'race' needed more portraits of non-European peoples as data for its more consistency. In 1800, naturalist Cuvier wrote:

Special studies for the type of portraits which we require are necessary, to the worth of ordinary portraits must be added that of geometric precision which can only be obtained with certain positions of the head, but which must be exact. Thus it is imperative that the straight profile should be joined with the frontal view [...]. The clothes ... only serve to disfigure the true character of the face. It would be important that the painter should paint all his heads with the same hair style, the simplest possible, and above all, that which would least cover the forehead and which least changes the shape of the head. All strange ornaments, the rings, the pendants, the tattooing ought to be omitted. The designer should have studied the famous essay by Camper on the methods of portraying the characters of the various human races [...]. (Smith 187)

'Race' was constructed on a 'geometric' composition, that is, a perspective, which flouted conventional methods of depicting native peoples and suppressed patterns of their bodies in the depictions. In 1805, Cuvier established three major 'races': the white, the yellow, and the black.

⁴ *Typee* depends not only on the author's own observations but also on existing texts written by missionaries and sailors or dictated by beachcombers (Charles Anderson). For one thing, as Neil Rennie points out, Melville made only a four-week stay with the natives in their valley – too short a time to write a long piece (186).

⁵ US increasing concerns about non-European worlds at Melville's time find their expression in the establishment of the American Oriental Society in 1842.

⁶ On US interests in the Marquesas Islands as whaling stations, see Herbert.

⁷ However, on the other, holding exclusive reverence for *Tenno* can also be seen in the Mito school.

⁸ On denial of *kanji* and modification of the conventional literary style, see Karatani 1988, 53-82.

⁹ This educative function, using the Pacific as a lesson in 'natural history', was an established literary trope dating to Frederick Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841) (and beyond to *Robinson Crusoe*) (Pearson 50).

¹⁰ Osamu Murai points out that there was a political context behind the originating of Japanese folklore by Yanagita; Yanagita was involved in Japanese colonial policy in Korea just before getting absorbed in research on Japanese folklore. He attempted to obliterate his involvement in an agricultural policy in Korea by attending to Okinawan ethnic customs. As Murai suggests, this political function of 'southern islands' (Murai called it 'southern island ideology') can be regarded as a type of Nanyo-Orientalism (25).

Chapter 6

Empire Boys in the South Seas/Nanyo

Adventure and boys in Victorian and Showa empires

Robert Michael Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858), 'the Pacific's best-known western text' (Edmond 18) for juvenile/young adult readers (which was a favourite book of young Stevenson¹), is a fabrication celebrating missionary values, capitalism and imperialism in the nineteenth-century British, written without visiting the Pacific.²

In this chapter this powerfully influential Pacific colonial romance and the Japanese equivalent, Keizo Shimada's cartoon story *Boken Dankichi* (Dankichi the Adventurous, 1933-1939), also written without any first-hand experience, will be compared. In Japanese colonial fiction on the Pacific, *Dankichi* will be so popular that it could have much the same impact on Japanese people as did South Sea novels by Western writers.

British imperialism, at the zenith of its power at the time, demanded a new romance more favourable to it. *The Coral Island* avoids *Typee*'s contradictions to succeed both in depicting a natural paradise with no restriction and celebrating British expansions, without missing a conventional thrill of encountering cannibals. To do so, it sets up two stages separately. One is an uninhabited island (named the Coral Island by its British boy characters) that provides the boys, its only residents, with an immaculate paradise. The other stage is Mango, half of the islanders already converted but the other half still heathen, on which a British missionary's great authority is demonstrated.

Despite its more impressive, dramatic denouement at the second stage, this novel is entitled with the first stage's name, at once highlighting the boys' discovery of a natural paradise that *Typee*'s Tom ardently desires and blurring the region's relentless Europeanisation that he denounces.

Its contrived setting also contributes to making a happier fantasy for its central characters. Avatea, the only native that the boys form a friendship with, is too childish for them and has a native lover, a Christian noble savage. This makes it possible for them, both the white boys and the black girl, to elude grief that Tom, Fayaway and Kory-Kory have to feel when the white wanderer escapes from the natives in the end.

In addition, a key to success of *The Coral Island* is its creation of young protagonists. Such young adventurers that can survive shipwreck and various mishaps without the help of an adult had seldom been described, although European youngsters had been associated with '(noble) savages' or 'uncivilised' spheres since Rousseau's description of 'natural man'. Boys could be described as adult-like adventurers after the success of the story of Tom, a child-like adult, who is a youth in his twenties but cannot move around due to his injury, and is treated in an extremely kind way by the natives as if he were a 'child'. The 'boys' of *The Coral Island* do not need to be anxious about infantilisation that Tom experiences.

Because of the boys' adventure genre, *The Coral Island* does not need to wrestle with 'double standards' which can be seen in *Typee*. For Tom, the indigenous 'religion' or taboo, including tattooing and cannibalism, and Christianity are both ambiguous devices for assimilation and annihilation of other ethnicity. In the juvenile text, however, what harms boys like cannibalism is simply an evil to be removed, Christianity delivering all human beings from evil.

It can also be said that the mid-nineteenth century British idea of 'child' led to the adventurous boys of *The Coral Island*. 'Children' are idealised, associated with 'adventure' and 'colony'. In juvenile stories, it was easier to conceal 'labour' (that was depicted in detail in *Robinson Crusoe*) – a harsh

reality of colony – and invert it to ‘play’ (as in *The Coral Island*). The South Seas was the setting in which the Victorian invention of ‘boyhood’ could be dramatised and developed. Boys’ adventure stories since the 1840s by writers such as Captain Frederick Marryat, Charles Kingsley, Ballantyne, Thomas Hughes, and Frederic William Farrar, were to clinch the importance of the popular boys’ magazines which emerged in the 1860s. As Joseph Bristow suggests, ideal boyhood oscillated between physical courage, heart, pluck, and guts, on the one hand, and the Christian virtues of restraint and piety, on the other. This precarious construction was backed up with the ideology of chivalry. The idealised figure of the medieval knight was used to turn out the elite for the empire. It was formed in the mid-nineteenth-century public school system, going through the process of combining the upper-class ‘virtues of the proper gentleman (fair play, team spirit and decorum)’ with more meritocratic middle-class ‘values of competition, independence and a wilful strength of mind’. Bristow points out that this process produced a moral hero emulated by all boys regardless of class (57-60). Boys’ adventure stories were popularised under the diffusion of such education in connection with the establishment of ‘national literature’, the accomplishment of large-scale industrialisation, and the founding of overseas markets – formation of the nation-state and its overseas colonies.

Such a process progressed at the turn of the century in Meiji Japan, when the public educational system and ‘modern Japanese literature’ began to be widely accepted. The education was based on the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety and the chivalrous (*samurai*) spirit. These virtues and spirit of the ruling class people of the Edo period were popularised in more abstracted form. Boys’ adventure stories, pioneered by Shunro Oshikawa’s works in the 1900s, reached the acme of their popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, their greater part published in the most popular juvenile magazine, *Shonen Kurabu* (Boys’ Club), which had emerged in 1914. Among them juvenile novels by Jiro Osaragi, Koroku Sato, Minetaro Yamanaka, Yoichiro Minami, Juza Unno, and Ranpo Edogawa were popular. But what won most popularity were two

cartoons: Suiho Tagawa's *Norakuro* (1931-1941) with the personified dog hero in the army, and Shimada's *Dankichi* with its setting in Nanyo.

In the 1920s' Japan, when writers who had been educated in the new literary system began to publish their works, 'modern Japanese literature' became more familiar and easier to read for people, who also received their education in the new written language (referred to in the previous chapter). However, they could not be fond of reading 'modern Japanese literature' of those days mainly depicting only a literary elite. In this situation, 'popular fiction' was established as a 'genre' through popular magazines and serial stories in newspapers. (Conversely, 'the mass of the people' was set up as the readers of such fiction.) Moreover, Western literature was also 'popularised' through translation in the new Japanese written language. The translation was wide-ranging regardless of age or genre. On the other hand, in 'modern Japanese literature', 'proletarian literature' became powerful since the mid-1920s until the government's crackdown on it in the mid-1930s.

Those circumstances of popularisation and regulation of 'the Japanese language' ('the national language') that were formed in a cosmopolitan atmosphere and under a sense of release from foreign pressure strengthened the discourses of Japan's unified society. (In this situation, Japan looks as if it were a 'village community'. This inclination was reinforced after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923). Needless to say, this cultural popularisation and regulation progressed together with political and economic popularisation and regulation: the formation of parliamentary government based on universal manhood suffrage, the enactment of the Maintenance of the Public Order Act, and the expansion of the heavy and chemical industrial capital. Such popularisation and regulation produced 'citizens' and 'salaried workers'. They were standardised as 'the work force' under the capitalist system, and at the same time 'dropouts', 'rustics' or 'the poor' were excluded as 'labour immigrants' into Japan's overseas colonies.

In this context, adventure stories 'descended' more into 'subculture'. In the 1930s – the period of '(ultra)nationalism' under militarisation after the Great

Depression and the Manchurian Incident in 1931 – *Dankichi*, a popular version of *monogatari* (tale) set in Nanyo, appeared in *Boys' Club*.

The Coral Island and Dankichi the Adventurous

The Coral Island and *Dankichi* are both to be read as extolling imperialist expansionism and civilisation. On the other hand, the difference between Victorian and Showa imperialisms can also be read from the works. Victorian imperialism did not have so much ambition to expand itself into the Pacific as it did in India and had no such interest in colonising Britons into the islands. In contrast, Showa imperialism was eager to transplant Japanese people and culture (including language) into the islands, regarding Micronesia as well as Manchuria as Japan's 'lifeline'. Victorian imperialism more practically desired to incorporate the islands into its capitalist economy network; Showa imperialism tried to enlarge the concentric circle of a Japanese culture sphere (just like the former Chinese empires) into the south in order to escape and emulate Western imperial powers. Whereas *The Coral Island* devotes most of its space to the British boys' survival and sports, *Dankichi*, which was written in the efflorescence of Japan's rule over Micronesia, focuses on Dankichi's attempt to 'modernise' his island and islanders by imitating the actual Japanese colonial government's assimilation policy. Although his effort is far from Crusoe's tenacious labour, this is different from the attitude of the British boys in *The Coral Island* towards native people. His terror of cannibals is strong as with preceding Western stories, but it is solved in the earlier stage by reclaiming them. Dankichi's 'paradise' is tinged with ideals of Japanese society, even if temporarily, in daily life as well as adventure.

In addition to these differences of the 'Pacific paradise', it is noteworthy that the most prevailing Pacific romance in Japan is a cartoon strip, while the equivalents in English are novels in the form of 'confession'.

The Coral Island's narrator, Ralph, teaches young readers the importance of both chivalry and natural history to survive an adventurous, natural –

colonial – life. The narrative takes the form of his ‘confession’, and is constructed by means of both inheriting and denying the confessional legacy of *Robinson Crusoe*. Like *Robinson Crusoe*, it begins with the narrator’s background, and, through shipwreck, construction of a ‘paradise’ on a desert island and fighting scenes of cannibals and white pirates, ends with returning home. However, unlike Crusoe, who is disobedient to his father and who reads the Bible throughout his island life, Ralph attempts to keep his promise to his mother to read the Bible everyday in the South Seas – but he loses it on his shipwreck. (He does remain serious and pious however.) Instead of leading a lonely life on an isolated island, he has comrades, Jack and Peterkin. The boys do not need patient ‘labour’ – they have all the benefits of a ‘natural’ paradise, enjoying swimming as a ‘sport’. They hesitate to kill and eat animals as opposed to Crusoe who does so indifferently. (These – mother’s role to keep an eye on her family, mateship, child’s separation from labour, and so on – reflect British civic life set up at the time.) And the boys find and bury the dead bodies of an adult man and a dog who had been living there, building a hut and farming the land as does Crusoe: it could be said that symbolically they inter Crusoe and his island life. Crusoe rendered distinguished services to the cause of British imperial discourses, but his aspects of immoderate seriousness and sombre loneliness, which are derived from his anti-establishmentarian thought, must be ‘buried’ in the new imperial texts.

In *The Coral Island*, the natives’ cannibalism is to be eradicated by Christianising, that is, ‘humanising’ them more dramatically than in *Robinson Crusoe*. The native chief Tararo does not bend to the ‘lion-like’ powerful hero Jack’s will to liberate a half-caste girl Avatea and takes the boys prisoner. Then, a weak-looking English gentleman (‘tall, thin, and apparently past forty, with a bald forehead, and thin grey hair’ [Ballantyne 275]) converts the ferocious chief and saves the brave English boys and the native girl from death. So, Christianity functions as a way to enfeeble and tame tough fighters. The contrasts between the not-converted and the converted natives, and between the white pirate Bill and the English missionary, are remarkable. By not taking the

Bible into their island (the narrative space), Jack's leadership backed with scientific rationality, chivalrous courage and wild spontaneity is capable of functioning as the discipline among the boys, and the boys are able to conduct like 'natural men' – ideal pure beings for modern European adults. But, in the end, Christianity is essential to the British boys: it domesticates the cannibals to open a path for colonisation and brings the boys' adventures to a happy end.

Thus, *The Coral Island* is not merely affected by Christian views, but also celebrates them, consciously expelling such ambiguous attitudes to Christian mission and cannibalism as are seen in *Typee*.

The Victorian imperial ethos of Christianisation is embodied in the South Sea empire boys and expressed in a confessional narrative form. On the other hand, the Japanese imperial spirit of 'Japanisation' (or favouring the colonised with the Emperor's affection) is also epitomised in a Nanyo empire boy. In the context of *kanjil kana* representation culture, however, it is expressed in the form of cartoon story. Cartoon stories, in which their narrative part plays a role of explaining pictures – pictures play the principal role – are more approachable than novels not merely to young readers, for whom it is usually difficult to have an extensive vocabulary. For those who use the modern Japanese language as their native language, reading a comic strip, rather than a novel, is closer to speaking Japanese. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the movement of 'unification of the written and spoken language' in modern Japan consisted in repressing *kanji* – the traditional formality of the Japanese written language or Chinese character – through the phonetic sound of the Japanese spoken language, aiming at bringing literary Japanese into alignment with the European phonetic alphabet in a sense. In Japan's modernisation, it was insisted that *kanji* should be abolished on the one hand, however, tens of thousands of homophones were coined by the use of Chinese characters to translate European words on the other. As a result, *kanji* was more and more important for the Japanese to discern all the homophones although they were not aware of it.³ While some Japanese elites attempted to make character subject to its phonetic sound as in European languages, character, instead of

phonetic sound, became the essence in the Japanese language. In a comic strip, its illustration, as it were, corresponds to *kanji*, and its explanatory note or words in balloons correspond to *kanji*'s reading shown by writing *kana* at its side (e.g. 日本 [Japan; nihon]). So, for modern Japanese speakers who always speak referring to *kanji* (pictures) in their mind, reading cartoon stories is analogous to having a conversation in Japanese: the cartoon story is most effective to reflect the social and cultural conditions of the times and form their images in a simplified way. *Dankichi* is a more essentialised mirror of Japanese colonialism.⁴

In *The Coral Island*, the text is subject to the almost fixed plot of adventure or patterns of colonialist discourses. The white characters appear to be free to obtain the mastery over uncivilised islands and islanders if they wish, but, as a matter of fact, they or the narrator/confessor are bound to have some religious awareness. On the other hand, serialised for six years, *Dankichi* comprises of many episodes. They are not always based on the same subject: the text is nearly an inconsistent miscellany. Although containing some patterns of colonialist discourses (as were seen in Chapter 2), the text is not subject to a certain consistent plot. It contains neither a love story nor long-standing fear of cannibalism that sets off pleasure of the earthly paradise or builds a story to its climax as in the Western texts. Collecting and compiling tales randomly can be seen in *monogatari* (tales) traditionally and even in modern *shosetsu* (novels). In terms of plot, *Dankichi* is freer than the Western romances. However, the protagonist, like most of those in *monogatari* and *shosetsu*, always has Japanese people/society, Japan, and *Tenno* to heart.

While in ancient *monogatari*, it is usually noblemen such as Susano, Yamato-takeru, and Hikaru Genji, who mediate between the centre and the periphery, Dankichi, who acts as a go-between in *Dankichi*, seems basically a common boy. Nevertheless, in a sense, Dankichi is to the natives what *Tenno* is to the colonised subjects in the Japanese empire. Immediately after his advent to the island, Dankichi reigns over the natives not with economic or military strength but with the paternalistic love.⁵ The natives, on the other hand, serve him with the maternal love: they are unable to live without him and at the same

time, for them, he looks so weak and delicate that they cannot leave him alone. Dankichi not only reigns but also rules over natives both politically and militarily, however. So, he is not so much a deity (like *Tenno*) as a mythical ancient 'Great King' before the late seventh century, that is, before the *Tenno* system (or 'Japan') was established. Just before leaving his island for home, Dankichi makes the natives erect his wooden image and appoints the former chieftain as Prime Minister, and some able natives to ministers. Then, for the natives, Dankichi (like *Tenno*) has become the heavenly, symbolic being that is not concerned directly in political affairs. Dankichi is the absolute 'other' (*Tenno*) to them and contradictorily, at the same time, they (attempt to) identify themselves with him ('different but similar'). Both sides could be 'close others', not 'relatives'.

The outlook on the natives as 'identical but different' can also be seen clearly in *The Coral Island* in its plot. After coming ashore to the island, the boys amuse themselves swimming and diving. But one day they have a narrow escape from a shark's attack (Chapter 7).

Our encounter with the shark was the first great danger that had befallen us since landing on this island, and we felt very seriously affected by it, especially when we considered that we had so often unwittingly incurred the same danger before while bathing. [...] What troubled us most, however, was, that we were compelled to forgo our morning swimming excursions. [...] Jack and I found that one great source of our enjoyment was gone, when we could no longer dive down among the beautiful coral groves at the bottom of the lagoon. (47-48)

At this stage the boys have not seen Pacific natives, whom they believes cannibals from the beginning of the novel. After they witness a horrible scene of cannibalism and encounter natives about the middle of the story (Chapter 19), Ralph is abducted by a party of pirates and brought to a Melanesian island. There he sees natives enjoying swimming and diving just like the boys themselves on the Coral Island. Then, a shark attacks them as well (Chapter

A canoe was instantly launched, and the hand of the drowning man was caught, but only half his body was dragged from the maw of the monster, which followed the canoe until the water became so shallow that it could scarcely swim. The crest of the next billow was tinged with red as it rolled towards the shore.

In most countries of the world this would have made a deep impression on the spectators, but the only effect it had upon these islanders was to make them hurry with all speed out of the sea, lest a similar fate should befall some of the others; but, so utterly reckless were they of human life, that it did not for a moment suspend the progress of their amusements. (197)

The natives, although being cannibals, are not completely different from the British boys. Instead, both are similarly fond of swimming and diving. However, there is a big difference in attitudes towards sharks between the white and black people. Ralph speculates as to this 'callousness' of the natives: 'I began to find that such constant exposure to scenes of blood was having a slight effect upon myself, and I shuddered when I came to think that I, too, was becoming callous' (200). But he comes to the conclusion that 'if I, who hated, abhorred, and detested such bloody deeds as I had witnessed within the last few weeks, could so soon come to be less sensitive about them, how little wonder that these poor ignorant savages, who were born and bred in familiarity therewith, should hold human life in so very slight esteem' (200). This shows a capacity to use the other as a mirror to the self. Ralph cannot help being speculative because he takes it for granted that they are (at bottom) no different from himself.

This speculation of Ralph, the imperialist text's narrator and an exemplary British youth, indicates an inevitable dilemma – terror of indigenisation – inherent in European colonial discourse, which *Typee* depicts it more impressively. Moreover, in *The Coral Island*, this dilemma is derived not only from going native but also from civilised natives resembling Europeans. A three-grade developing system can be found in *The Coral Island* – Jack-Ralph-

Peterkin, white-brown-black, Tahitian-Samoan-Fijian, English missionary-native teacher-converted chief, and so forth. In the system, as the narrator Ralph practises it, the middle factor should emulate the mature factor and help the immature advance more. Logically, if the undeveloped or immature satisfy the necessary disciplinary conditions such as morality, knowledge, and power, in a word, 'humanity', through conversion, conquest, learning science, hybridisation, and so on, they can be re-categorised into the developed or mature beyond race discrimination. So, the difference between Europeans and Pacific people has to be all the more emphasised. For example, in the text, both white pirates and black cannibals commit murder. But the assault of the former upon the latter is 'barely visible', only heard by Ralph (Chapter 26), while the boys witness the latter's 'devouring' their foes (Chapter 19).

In the denouement where the boys are released immediately after the English missionary has converted the chief Tararo, Ralph has to lay such stress as follows (Chapter 34):

The scene that met our eyes here was one that I shall never forget. On a rude bench in front of his house sat the chief. A native stood on his left hand, who, from his dress, seemed to be a teacher. On his right stood an English gentleman, who, I at once and rightly concluded, was a missionary. ...The expression of his countenance was the most winning I ever saw, and his clear grey eye beamed with a look that was frank, fearless, loving, and truthful. (275)

There is some possibility of the newly converted chief's becoming like the English gentleman some day, but for the moment there is a long distance between them (if the chief were to be identical with the Englishman, before that, he has to clear the native teacher). For Europeans, the natives are 'relatives', but must be 'remote relatives'.

Although in fact, *Dankichi* has also the three-grade system as is seen in *The Coral Island* – *Tenno*-Japanese subject-native subject – the factor of *Tenno* is latent in the text and Dankichi plays a dual role of *Tenno* and the Japanese

subject. And the text, as was suggested in Chapter 2, needs some devices to differentiate Dankichi from the natives. As compared with the boys of *the Coral Island*, however, Dankichi has little hesitation to be altered (to be half-naked) and he can be more optimistic about assimilating the natives. Unlike the Euro-American subjects, Dankichi is regarded as *a priori* different from the natives and because of that, Dankichi can feel all the more familiar with the natives.

In *The Coral Island*, by way of staying on Pacific islands, Ralph (like Crusoe) gains 'interiority' and its change to be confessed. In this case, his body is seen as a fixed receptacle. While looks of cannibal natives are described as 'black monsters', those of converted natives are placid (like the English missionary). The text represses diversity of 'bodies' that cannot be settled into 'civility' or 'humanity'. Behaviours of Dankichi and his native subjects are under the control of his wristwatch – a western article to rule time. (Indeed, it is unthinkable and even today unusual that a schoolboy like Dankich always wears a watch.) Besides his writing an Arabic numeral on each torso of the natives (as if they were baseball players), by making such a far-fetched setting, the bodies of the Japanese and the South Sea people are laid in the modern perspective – linear time and numerical order.

Notwithstanding, as has been suggested, the Japanese colonial romance is contrary to Westernisation in its representation of self (Dankichi resembles *Tenno* or ancient gods or chiefs in Japanese 'myths') and other (different but similar). It has been pointed out earlier that pictures in a cartoon strip correspond to *kanji* in the modern Japanese language. Those partly Westernised bodies of Dankichi and the natives that are portrayed as fantastic illustrations in the text could be regarded as equal to *kanji* that has been repressed but increasingly needed since Japan's modernisation.

Notes

¹ It leaves its trace on his *Treasure Island* (Rennie 210).

² Ballantyne devised this novel by borrowing mainly from John Williams's *Missionary Enterprises* (1837) (Edmond 145-152).

³ For example, '公道' (public road), '行動' (behaviour), '坑道' (mining gallery), '黃道' (the

ecliptic), ‘講堂’ (lecture hall) and ‘皇道’ (*Tenno's* government) are all read in the same way: ‘こうどう’ (kôdô). Such a homophone is too numerous to mention. This offers little difficulty or incongruity to Japanese people. To produce many homophones was not considered as causing confusion. On this matter, see Takashima 2001.

⁴ *Dankichi's* popularity may be considered to be an extension of a great vogue of *kami shibai* (picture-story shows) among children in the 1910s-1920s (Osamu Tezuka, ‘*Boken Dankichi no Miryoku*’ [Attractions of *Dankichi the Adventurous*], Shimada 1976, 1: 186).

⁵ According to Claire-Lise Malarte-Feldman and Jack Yeager, in Jean de Brunhoff's Babar stories (published since 1931), which ‘illustrate almost all too neatly what the French called their “mission civilisatrice”’, a very rich Old Lady dresses and educates the little elephant Babar as French parents treat their children. The stories represent all the elephant as children educated in elementary school (75). Unlike *Dankichi* the source of the Old Lady's power is, as Herbert Kohl points out, her money (7). For Babar, being clothed is of great importance to be distinguished from other elephants: ‘he is not dressed like a taxi cab driver in Paris or salesman or factory workers’, but ‘like an entrepreneur with a little derby hat and spats on his shoes’ (Kohl 23). ‘They are symbols of the upper class, but in this book they are also symbols of goodness. The rich are good, money is good, simple elephants who believe those things are also good’ (Kohl 23).

Chapter 7

Re-writing South Sea Romance from Within

Resistance from within Japan and the West

As the previous discussion in Part I suggested, it can be said that Atsushi Nakajima's works embody contradictions and inner conflicts arising from Japan's modernisation, which, basically modelled on the Western civilisation, turns out to be founded on mimicry. His texts, both in form and content, resist a literary modernisation that follows modern Europe's perspective. At the same time, he attempts, by depicting the islanders as 'incomprehensible', to resist the Japanese colonialist discourse of 'similarity'.

As the analysis in Part I shows, more attention needs to be paid to Nakajima's textual intervention in the dominant assimilationist colonialist discourse. He was not a solitary eccentric in this regard; several other writers such as Yoshiji Maruyama, Tatsuzo Ishikawa and Takashi Kubo also depicted ambiguous attitudes towards the Japanese colonialist authority in different ways.

Nevertheless, Japanese colonial discourse reinforced itself as a diverse but normative entity by absorbing even sceptical ideas such as Nakajima's against Japan's colonial activities. It should be noted that Nakajima's Nanyo stories, like those contemporaries', were limited by the traditional function of their *monogatari* (tale) form to mediating between the centre and the periphery of the Japanese empire. Above all, as a functionary of the Nanyo cho (South Seas Government), he was involved in the Japanese language education of islanders.

The ability of modern European colonial discourse to similarly contain a contest between obedience and disobedience can be seen in the general approval of the two South Sea novels of quite different kind, *Typee* and *The Coral Island*. This flexible dominance can further be found in works engaging with modern literary reform in Europe as well as debates over how the South Seas should be written about.¹ From the 1890s to the early 1920s – during and after the brief period of Western nations’ scramble in the Pacific in the late nineteenth century and a period of world system’s reorganisation around World War One – romantic representation of the Pacific Islands on the basis of the binarism of civilised Westerners/savage islanders was challenged. This challenge can be seen in short stories put together in Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Island Nights’ Entertainments* (1893), Louis Becke’s *By Reef and Palm* (1894), Jack London’s *South Sea Tales* (1909), and William Somerset Maugham’s *The Trembling of a Leaf* (1921).² These works never moved beyond a modern European perspective, but could be regarded as offering tentative objections to it. Contrasting these Western writings with Japanese ones by the above-mentioned writers will help reveal nuances of ambivalence in both Western and Japanese colonial representations of the Pacific.

Characteristically in those English and Japanese texts, barbarism and civilisation are intermingled: unlike conventional South Sea romances, the texts focus on unrecoverable influences upon the colonisers (rather than the colonised) that colonial encounters cause, genealogical and cultural syncretism resulting from such encounters, and islanders’ viewpoints towards incursive foreign cultures. The texts stress difference, instead of similarity, of the colonisers and colonised, representing islanders as ‘same but different’. In this respect, these works – now canonical South Sea/Nanyo writings – seem close to the long-standing Orientalist descriptions of ‘exotic’ natives as ‘(same but) different’. However, this ‘sameness’ in their works derives from the Pacific cultural syncretism caused by colonial encounters rather than meaning a Christian or scientific fixed view of ‘the same human beings’ or *Homo sapiens*. Such representations of the South Sea/Nanyo ought to be helpful to intervene in

those colonialist – especially Protestant missionaries and Japanese officials – ‘similarity’ discourses (that colonialists’ ways are no less favourable to the natives than to themselves) that justify imperial rules. And those texts’ depictions of heterogeneity in European/Japanese as well as islanders’ subjects oppose, although partly, Orientalism’s binarity of civilisation/savage. The Pacific is no longer depicted as a locale for heroic adventures. In the texts it is a living space of traders, sailors, missionaries, medical doctors, scholars, administrators, policemen and schoolteachers – Western and Japanese people – and indigenes, islander migrants, half-castes, and Asian labourers including the Japanese.

As we will see later, the Western writers’ anti-romanticist strategies produced representations of changing Pacific islanders as accomplished facts. They found a possibility of new depiction in cultural mixtures, especially linguistic ones. At the same time, however, this realism leaves European imperialism and racism as *faits accomplis*, too, in the texts. Despite their explicit denunciation of colonialist agencies, their recognition of the ‘hybrid Pacific’ as the Other do not lead to impeaching the existing colonial systems clearly. The narrator’s (he is a white trader) closing racist remarks in Stevenson’s ‘The Beach of Falesá’ can be given as an example:

But what bothers me is the girls [the narrator’s daughters]. They’re only half-castes, of course; I know that as well as you do, and there’s nobody thinks less of half-castes than I do; but they’re mine, and about all I’ve got. I can’t reconcile my mind to their taking up with Kanakas, and I’d like to know where I’m to find the whites?
(Stevenson 71)

In addition, London’s ‘The Inevitable White Man’ (the author’s ‘raw statement of his lifelong belief in the overwhelming vigor and enterprise of his own breed of humanity’ [Day 1985, xxvii]), which consists of a dialogue of three white men, is a case in point. It begins with Captain Woodward’s assertion to Charley Roberts, a bar manager in Apia: ‘The black will never understand the white, nor the white the black, as long as black is black and white is white’ (London 235). To

Roberts' saying, '[i]n proportion to the white man's stupidity is his success in farming the world', Captain Woodward replies:

Perhaps you're right, Roberts. Perhaps it's his stupidity that makes him succeed, and surely one phase of his stupidity is his inability to understand the niggers. But there's one thing sure, the white has to run the niggers whether he understands them or not. It's inevitable. It's fate. (239)

Roberts agrees to this view, the point of Captain Woodward's tale following the dialogue. The narrator, the rest of participants in the dialogue, only utters a question unanswerable to them three but important: 'I wonder what the black man must think of the – the inevitableness' (240).

Notwithstanding Stevenson's and London's ironical criticism of Caucasian racial prejudices, it can at least be said that the writers could not imagine islanders who are not subordinated to European civilisation.

As for Japanese writers, they do not even express a palpable criticism of Japanese colonialist agents, let alone comments on Japan's rule over Micronesia, in their works. The writers do not write a story in which Japanese colonial elites are overthrown, despite the centralising of 'inconceivability' of poor islanders (Nakajima), sympathy for poor Japanese immigrants in Micronesia such as peasants/young engineers (Maruyama/Ishikawa) or native people's protest against Japanese schoolteachers (Kubo) alongside cutting remarks at those authorities. Their restraint contrasts sharply with white characters' tragic fall and death in the above-mentioned Western writers' tales.

This difference, it seems, had a background of distinctive colonial governmental styles and national concerns in the Pacific colonies between the Western imperial powers in the period of the end of the nineteenth century to World War One and the Japanese one in the 1930s to the early 1940s. Within Western colonial empires, the Pacific entities assumed only a modest place, generally regarded as small, poor, distant, and mostly insignificant. (This is true of the Japanese empire to some degree.) Britain, not wanting further expansion

in the region mainly for financial difficulties, had such little ambition as to initially refuse the petition of Australia and New Zealand for its annexing almost every island and reef in the Pacific. The Dutch had no more colonial ambitions in the area. Indeed, the trade and plantations of French, German, and the US interests grew, which threatened the colonists of Australia and New Zealand. But this situation led to the extensive partitioning of interests among the colonialist powers in the Pacific – the partitioning ‘proceeded from no lust for empire on the part of the chancelleries of Europe, but from that chain reaction of fear that annexation by the other power would disrupt commercial interests, along with the pressure to annex or be annexed from insecure settler groups in the Pacific’ (Hempenstall 34). In any cases Europeans in the Pacific were minority groups, involved with conflicts of governmental, commercial, religious and cultural interests depending on national, class, racial, and vocational differences, far from being monolithic. Overall, ‘European imperialism in the Pacific was made up of politicians in European capitals oscillating between enthusiasm and hostility, similar but unsynchronised waves of public fervour and indifference, a consistent resistance by state treasuries, and an irregular pattern of crises between islanders and European settlers’ (Hempenstall 37-38).

In Japan’s rule over Micronesia, too, there were fissures stemming from racial, class, and sexual issues (Okinawans, peasants, prostitutes, etc.) as have been mentioned in previous chapters. Notwithstanding, the Japanese government’s effort to integrate colonial Micronesian territories more extensively and more quickly into larger imperial economy produced a bureaucratic united system in the region, sustaining private investments in agriculture and industry as well as commerce and the flow of Japanese immigrants into the islands. Before the outbreak of the Pacific War, the population of the Japanese in Micronesia outnumbered that of Micronesians almost twice, most of them residing in Saipan and Koror (Peattie 157-161).

Compared with the Western authorities in the Pacific colonies, the Japanese colonial totalitarian system put more pressure on Japanese writers to uphold it and to refrain from accusing Japanese colonial representatives. The

system, on the other hand, provided the writers with more convenience and, at the same time, more despair at the unexpectedly diminished rarity (although this did not necessarily apply to the islands with a small number of the Japanese).

With reference to this despair, in attitude towards 'hybridity' in the Pacific islands, there is a prominent difference between the Japanese and Western writers. Nakajima described in 'Mariyan' a feeling of 'pity' towards both civilised islands/Japanised islanders and civilisations transplanted into the islands. Yoichi Nakagawa, Sei Ando, Maruyama, Ishikawa and Kubo, all of them kept their eyes on Micronesian uncivilised aspects (otherness), treating 'half-castes' and highly educated natives merely as unnatural misfortunes in their works.

The Western texts are, to some degree, in accordance with Nicholas Thomas's assertion that 'Cultural differences must [...] be acknowledged and interpreted, but should not occasion a kind of writing in which tribal people inhabit a domain completely separate from our own' (1991, 8). But, as we have seen thus far, colonialist discourses, whether in English or Japanese, usually insist both on similarity and difference, although on which they lay emphasis is different: by and large, coloniser/colonised relations are presented in terms of difference in English and similarity in Japanese. The intervention by the Western writers such as Stevenson into conventional colonialist fantasies is made possible through the idea that 'this world is not only in the same time and dimension as our own, but has been partly constituted through transactions between societies, through our mutual entanglements' (Thomas 1991, 9). This idea derives from within Europe's perspectival representation or, in Mary Louise Pratt's words, 'planetary consciousness', which is 'marked by an orientation toward interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural history' (Pratt 15). (Western artists' and writers' attempts, mainly since the late nineteenth century, to withstand the perspective turn out to be within the consciousness.) Although Japanese elites accepted the idea in the process of Japan's modernisation (Westernisation), it did not eradicate the concept that 'the Japanese' are distinct

from foreigners not merely culturally or historically but absolutely. This concept can be seen across the board in Japanese colonial discourses, even official ones, and the above-mentioned Japanese writers' stress of difference proves to arise from their senses of incongruity in cultural and biological syncretism and the Japanese government's assimilation policy which caused it in Micronesia. To say the other way around, however, based on such a view of absolute Others preventing Self/Other border collapse, Japanese colonialism can emphasise 'similarity' as a result of Japanisation.

Fear and violence of the coloniser

Robert Louis Stevenson's 'The Beach of Falesá', the self-styled 'first-realistic South Sea story', made a decisive turning point in Pacific romance.³ The text, with its formulaic framework of the white protagonist's arrival in a beautiful island without any particular purpose, transracial love, exploration, and duel with the villain and despite a touch of racism/sexism, leads the narrative into an unconventional conclusion.⁴

This story begins with the coming to his new island posting of the protagonist (who has been living for years in the Pacific) and his encounter with native people. This occurs without the writer spending numerous pages on depicting adventures, fears and expectations, before natives appear in front of white characters. And it ends neither with his return home nor with his launch into a further adventure but with his anticipation of life on the island with his half-caste wife and children.

The protagonist and narrator, Wiltshire, an English trader, relies on the powerful local European trader, Case, who has a Samoan wife and who seems adroit and courageous. He reminds us of *The Coral Island's* young British heroes (in particular, Jack, showing strength and good leadership) and its Samoan girl Avatea. The 'beach' of a Pacific island colony symbolises its European, mainly trading, community in the Pacific, which is closely related to European imperial power.⁵ At the stage of his coming to the island, for Wiltshire, it is fantastic (like

'the Coral Island') and Case is a hero (like the boys).

Case's power has permeated not only the beach but also the island's bush interior. Falesá is virtually his empire, which he has established by destroying other European traders and taking advantage of the local taboos and animistic beliefs of the natives. Case targets Wiltshire: he marries the newcomer to Uma, who is a half-caste child of a native woman from another island and a white beachcomber, and whom the powerful white trader has put a taboo on. The reason why Wiltshire wishes to overthrow his rival is hardly a heroic, romantic one; he wants not merely to protect his economic stronghold on the island but is also driven by jealous rage at Case having laid hands on her before their marriage.

Although Case turns out to be an obstacle for Wiltshire, whether the powerful European trader should be also eliminated for the natives (who, indeed, are in awe of him) is not clear in the text. Seen from islanders' points of view, Case might not be absolutely evil. Likewise, Wiltshire is ambiguous in the story. As Roslyn Jolly asserts, 'Wiltshire's lack of self-awareness and his refusal to modify his preconceptions in the light of his experience make his narrative an unconscious satire on the assumptions of racial and cultural superiority held by most of Stevenson's European contemporaries' (xv). Wiltshire's obstinate and bloody murder of Case could be associated with the horrible scenes of native cannibalism in *The Coral Island*, for example. In this ironical way the text makes a point that white men have now become savages too. As will be mentioned later, Uma attempts to keep Wiltshire from exposing himself to danger by doing violence to Case. Neither Wiltshire's overthrowing of Case nor the 'savage' means for it that Wiltshire takes is necessarily what the islanders wish.

Fear of European oppressors, their excessive violence, and resistance/subjection to them are well depicted in works by Becke, London, and Maugham, too. Louis Becke presented 'not the imaginings of a fevered escapist but merely the everyday materials of South Sea life, related not for romantic titillation but only something recalled over a pipe on verandah by the lagoon'

(Day 1966, 59-60). According to A. Grove Day, Becke's first published work *By Reef and Palm* 'revealed for the first time the drama and pathos that might be found in the overlooked lives of South Sea traders, sailors, beachcombers, refugees from civilization, domineering white invaders, castaways, and wanderers of the archipelagoes, and their relations with the chiefs, warriors, "half-castes," and maidens of isles flung like small planets across the ocean from the Carolines to Easter Island' (1966, 63). In 'Revenge of Macy O'Shea', set in the Marquesas, a convict Englishman is described who in the end cruelly murders his half-caste wife who has killed his half-caste sweetheart. The islanders either assist in or tolerate, against their real intention, the 'barbarous' execution. The sombre atmosphere and simple drama is told without sensationalism or moralising, in almost blunt style, as in other stories in *By Reef and Palm* and his following thirty-four books.⁶

Collecting material for *South Sea Tales* in his Pacific adventures, Jack London filled his raw yarns with 'rough-hewn characters acting amid scenes of hardship and violence' (Day 1985, i). 'Yah! Yah! Yah!' represents fear of white men from a native character's standpoint. The white narrator translates Melanesian Oti's narration to him in *Bêche-de-mer* into 'proper' English.

"White men are hell. I have watched them much, and I am an old man now, and I understand at last why the white men have taken to themselves all the islands in the sea. It is because they are hell. [...] What are you good for, anyway? I do not know, except to fight. I have never seen you fight, yet I know that you are like your brothers and that you will fight like hell. Also, you are a fool, like your brothers. You do not know when you are beaten. You will fight until you die, and then it will be too late to know that you are beaten. (London 135)

Oti refers to a Scotchman trader, McAllister, the only white man on Oolong Atoll, who destroyed native people by himself and now is a despotic ruler, maltreating natives. 'No one loved him, not even germs, while he loved only whisky, and still he lived' (125). In the tale, McAllister's words are only several 'Yah! Yah! Yah!'

as if he were a beast. He is an 'inevitable white man'. The natives do not attempt to resist, expel or kill him.

On the other hand, in London's 'Mauki', the black servant Mauki requites like for like. Born the son of a chief, he is kidnapped, recruited into Melanesian plantation labourers. The white master, Bunster, a German trader, applies force arbitrarily every day to his servants including Mauki, but is taken ill and killed by the young native. His retaliation is, however, not merely a defiant response to Bunster's tyranny. Bunster is displeased with the fact that the servant gives priority observing his taboos put on him since his childhood (never shake hands with a woman, never eat crabs, and never touch a crocodile) over obeying his master's order. He kills the 'inevitable white man' so that he can keep the taboos, not for freedom or pure anti-colonialist motives. On the contrary, the trader's head ('the most powerful devil-devil') – a relic of the fear of colonialism – gives great authority to Mauki. He takes advantage of it to maintain his dignity as the chief of his home village in the Solomon Islands, and besides he acquires a reward to his long-standing labour from his plantation recruiter.⁷ 'Mauki' is a typical tale of noble exile in the Melanesian setting: Mauki's revenge is not vitally interested in the common islanders.

In Somerset Maugham's 'Mackintosh', Walker, an Irish veteran administrator of Talua in Samoa, is murdered by a native youth, who has never defied the administrator until going to Apia, the colonial capital, and realising how despotic Walker is. Walker seems tyrannical, selfish, arrogant, vulgar, simple, and instinctive to the protagonist Mackintosh, his new Scottish assistant. Mackintosh has a furtive hatred for his boss, thinking that Walker should be eliminated for the sake of the natives and Mackintosh himself, and timidly connives at the young man taking away his own gun to kill his boss. Walker, who is irreligious, illiterate, and fond of narrating 'legends' of his past, is totally divorced from the sexual morality, racial consciousness, rejection to the intensity of the island's nature, and thirst for reading – all under which the pious, well-educated assistant is.

His enthusiasm for nature was but the drivelling sensibility of the drunkard. Nor had Mackintosh any sympathy for his chief's feelings towards the natives. He loved them because they were in his power, as a selfish man loves his dog, and his mentality was on a level with theirs. Their humour was obscene and he was never at a loss for the lewd remark. He understood them and they understood him. He was proud of his influence over them. He looked upon them as his children and he mixed himself in all their affairs. (Maugham 16)

While oppressing the natives, Walker resists administrators in Apia, traders, and missionaries who treat them with racial prejudice. So, Walker's death and Mackintosh's succession to him is not necessarily desirable to the people. Seeing the old man die entrusting them to him and the natives lamenting aloud, Mackintosh shoots himself dead. Unlike Wiltshire fighting with Case almost to work off his personal grudge on him, Mackintosh has 'righteousness' of bringing peace to the natives. The text reveals, however, that the white protagonist's sense of justice and mission is not accepted in the Pacific world of the almost indigenised white settler and the natives. In this respect, the text is quite different from *The Coral Island* which depicts Jack's enthusiastic sense of mission to deliver Avatea from cannibals as unquestionably righteous.

In those texts, fear and violence of white characters do not directly induce vengeful thoughts or actions in the colonised masses. Challenge to existing colonialist power is for white newcomers rather than islanders. For the islander characters, European colonisers' violence is only terrible, not to be fought against. Their fear of Europeans cannot be abated even though they are excluded. Although Mauki defies European authority when it tramples islanders' regulations, he does not deny power itself, shrewd enough to turn it to his own advantage. There the problem is not the colonialist activity itself but the way of rule, which should not be removed but changed.

This applies to Japanese literary texts about Micronesia in the early 1940s. Nakajima suspects that the unquestioningly coercive way of education does not always take effect on islanders, who are incomprehensible to him ('Niwatori'

[Hens]). His and other writers' comments on schooling show that there was a well-developed education program under Japan that is nowhere evident in the freebooting world of white colonisation. Maruyama has an unpleasant feeling to see native children show too much respect to Japanese visitors like him (*Nanyo Kiko* [An Account of a Journey in the South Seas]). Ishikawa claims that giving the Japanese-style education to native youths is nonsensical because they have no nationalism or no familiarity with the Emperor, culture, or history of Japan ('Gunto Nisshi' [A Journal of the Archipelagos]). Kubo relates that neither rigorous nor affectionate education proves to be effective to civilise natives unless Japanese teachers make every effort to blend in with the community's normal routine ('Kogakko' [Public School]). Each of these writers poses a question about the ways of educating young islanders but not about education or domestication itself.

Re-writing colonial transracial love

The relative lack of education for natives in white fiction is accompanied by an evident concern for inter-racial marriage based on the stress on racial difference. The argument that white colonial relations stressed difference over assimilation can be seen in fictional attitudes towards transracial marriage.

In 'The Beach of Falesá', Wiltshire's love with Uma is not completely romantic, as mentioned above. Transracial love of the white protagonists for native girls in *Typee* and *Le Mariage de Loti* is depicted as fantastic and dramatic, indispensable to relate the stories of 'the earthly paradise', but improbable in the real world. In *The Coral Island* it seems impossible – Avatea looks as childish even to the English teenagers as Uma to Wiltshire. 'Falesá' counters these stories: transracial love can be realised in the Pacific but it is not very romantic.

Becke depicts various kinds of interracial love of white men and brown women in the Pacific ('but perhaps "love" is too strong a word for these attachments, which are often casual encounters' [Day 1966, 60]). These 'loves'

are realistic, disillusioning both the colonisers and the colonised who have a dream of peaceful married life of white man and coloured woman. 'Challis the Doubter' is an antithesis of 'Falesá'. The white Australian Challis leaves his white wife who he suspects is having an affair, and takes a local wife, Nalia, on a Polynesian island. Regretting loving the white lady, he hesitates to fall in love with his new wife. In the end, Challis disappears from the island when he makes sure of the native wife's true love of him and knows that she conceives their child. In 'Revenge of Macy O'Shea' an Englishman, Macy O'Shea kills his local wife brutally. His wife, Sera, a Portuguese-Tahitian half-caste, hates her violent husband but is too proud to overlook his marriage to Malia, a half-caste daughter of a powerful trader. In 'Brantley of Vahitahi', an English seaman, Brantley, cherishes his native wife, Luita, and a child. However, when his younger sister, Doris, whom he has left in Auckland, visits his island in the Paumotu Group to see him before her death of consumption, Luita kills her child and herself, taking Doris for his husband's white wife. Present at his wife's and his younger sister's deathbed, Brantley takes his own life. In Becke's text 'no effort is made to pump up pathos. Somebody kills somebody, and that is that. No effects of horror or regret remain; people died like this in the nineteenth-century Pacific' (Day 1966, 76).

All of Becke's transracial couples do not attain such a 'tragic' end. In his 'A Truly Great Man' a local white trader is praised by a tribal chief as 'a great man' for his being straightforward, sympathetic towards native people, and devoted to his native wife and five-year-old child. This trader, Probyn, has been roving with his wife, Niabong, in the Pacific because of a murder he previously committed. Probyn

answered all requirements. He was generally a rough character – a runaway from some Australian or American whaler, or a wandering Ishmael who, for reasons of his own, preferred living among the intractable, bawling, and poverty-stricken people of the equatorial Pacific to dreaming away his days in the monotonously happy valleys of the Society and Marquesas Groups. (Becke 118)

In Probyn we have a picture of what Melville's characters might have become had they stayed on in *Typee* and *Omoo*. This tale seems to suggest that a European husband abandon his idea of residing in an earthly paradise, if he were to avoid the catastrophes that Becke's other tales come to. In Becke's Pacific tales the Christian ethos of love/jealousy – love romance – is out of place. A nomadic life is suitable for an interracial couple. And these tales respond to Wiltshire's concern about his half-caste daughters: even if they could marry white men, it would not be necessarily good for them.

It is through literature (in the broad sense) that European illness of 'love' was diffused.⁸ Maugham's tales suggest this, describing through interracial love the contrast of literates and illiterates and highlighting tragedies of the former having such a concept of romance. The tragic white protagonists, Neilson in 'Red' and Lawson in 'The Pool' as well as Mackintosh in 'Mackintosh', are men of wide reading. Neilson's and Lawson's distresses begin with their marriages to native girls. Neilson, a Swede, who has been on an island of Samoa for decades, has a surprise visit of a white stranger. Neilson, calling himself a sentimentalist, came to the island in order to console himself for the development of tuberculosis with natural beauty, married a native woman, and studied the local language – he is the stuff that Orientalists are made of. On the other hand, the white trader is so illiterate that a large number of books in the Swedish man's room give him 'a feeling of something incomprehensible and hostile' and he is indifferent to his sentimentalism. Neilson tells him a local story of romantic love of a white man and a native woman, both of them young, pure, beautiful and fresh enough to satisfy his Orientalist dreams. Bored with their monotonous life, however, this young man Red leaves the girl, Sally. In fact, this Rarahu-like pitiful girl is Neilson's wife, who received his persistent courtship to fulfil her parents' wish after Red had disappeared. For Neilson, with no confidence in his health and appearance, the romance of Red and Sally is his long-cherished desire – it is 'the reality' for him even after she grows fat. All of a sudden, while talking, he finds that the ugly, obese trader in front of him is Red. In spite of the

first reunion in decades, the old trader leaves with no account of her, and she does not recognise him. Facing such a harsh 'reality', Neilson determines to leave the island alone.

In 'The Pool', Lawson, an Englishman who leaves for his new post as a bank clerk in Samoa, is as educated and has as much taste for romantic South Sea poems and myths as Neilson. He marries a half-caste girl, Ethel, who is like a heavenly maiden (but a former blackbird's daughter). He returns to Scotland with Ethel and their black skinned child (its black skin gives him a shock). For Ethel, however, Britain or civilisation holds no attraction, the memories of her life in Samoa indelible. She leaves her husband for Samoa with her child and he follows them to live once again in Samoa. But she, an illiterate islander, is not such a sentimentalist as he is. The more kindly he treats her, the colder she becomes. Steeped in liquor, Lawson commits suicide when convinced that she is having an affair.

The romantic love that Neilson and Lawson feel towards the beautiful islander women is only familiar to Western-educated Europeans and such non-Europeans. Marriage based on such love is absurd and unnatural to Red (an illiterate European) and Ethel (an illiterate half-caste). This discrepancy in a view of marriage shatters expectations of both sides.

Japanese people's ambivalent response towards Western colonialist transracial love romances set in Japan, such as Pierre Loti's novel *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) and Giacomo Puccini's opera *Madame Butterfly* (1904), shows their paradoxical preference for Orientalism/Occidentalism. Such obscurity echoes in how to deal with love with Micronesian women in Japanese discourses. The Japanese colonial government favoured marriages of Japanese men and Micronesian women in the noble cause of 'Japanisation' (Peattie 219). Although confessing their curiosity for love with islander women, the Japanese journalist Fumio Nonaka and the novelist Sei Ando dissent from the government policy in their travel books. They assert that such 'hybridisation' only produces tragic 'heretics' unable to identify themselves either with the Japanese or with Micronesians (Nonaka 85; Ando 105). Marriages or liaisons of

colonising women and colonised men, more sharply arousing colonialist fear of 'indigenisation', were rarely mentioned.⁹

In Japanese texts, transracial love is portrayed as less passionate relations: not very aesthetic (Hitomatsu Ishida's song *Shucho no Musume* [The Daughter of the Village Chief]), negative (Kubo), or realistic (Nakajima). The European image of 'a porno-tropics' (McClintock 22) is restrained. As we saw in a previous chapter, love with a Marshallese girl became a cliché by way of the very popular song *The Daughter of the Village Chief*. This girl is depicted as exotic but not very beautiful for Japanese sense of beauty. Except for Yoichi Nakagawa admiring Gauguin's portraits of Tahitian girls' 'wild beauty', on the whole, few Japanese writers described native Micronesians as beautiful. In Kubo's story 'Public School', the protagonist, a young Japanese teacher, falls in love with a native girl and, concerned about their child who would be born after their marriage, severs relations with her. He pulls himself together after a brief distress. As for the native, she does not even care a bit. (It is as if the text avoided negatively Wiltshire's misgivings about his half-caste daughters or tragedies of Becke's and Maugham's white characters.) In Nakajima's 'Mariyan', Mariyan, a native woman, denies Loti's romance of Rarahu as unrealistic, and rejects marriage to the protagonist because men from the mainland of Japan do not come back to Micronesia once they return home. (This realism is a point in common between Nakajima's and those Western writers' texts.) In these Japanese texts, either Japanese or Micronesian characters do not become burning with or deeply suffer from love (although the difference of their views of 'love' is presupposed). In this respect, in Japanese texts colonial fears are more emphatic than colonial desires that is repressed under the idea of immorality or shame.

Those models of non-European women who make little of predicaments are used in the European stories on the Pacific to invert traditional colonialist romance. Maugham's Sally and Ethel succeed to Stevenson's Uma in that after marriage to European men they become sturdier rather than dying in obscurity as Loti's native heroines do. Wiltshire narrates that this is 'natural':

She's turned a powerful big woman now, and could throw a London bobby over her shoulder. But that's natural in Kanakas too, and there's no manner of doubt that she's an AI wife. (Stevenson 70-71)

Whereas Maugham's texts criticise romanticism by describing how the 'realities' of life in the Pacific destruct white characters' persistent 'another realities' (Orientalism), 'Falesá' does so by showing how Wiltshire can relinquish (though not completely at all now but in the future) his Orientalism through his life with Uma. He is/will be able to do that after a fashion not in the least because, unlike Maugham's white characters, he is impious, harbouring ill feeling towards missionaries, who usually despise traders. His defiant attitude to missionary authority that struggles to domesticate islanders helps him, to some extent, avoid projecting Europe's ideals into the islanders and accept them as they are. However, he takes advantage of the missionary power to cancel his marriage that Case has manoeuvred and to marry Uma again 'properly' on the basis of their mutual love. Wiltshire's inability to discard the idea of marriage for love, which looks strange from the prewar usual Japanese viewpoint, shows the strength of Christianity even for an impious person like him.

Missionaries' power in the Pacific, although the Protestants and the Catholics had different strategies of mission work (Kiste 23), was political as well as religious.¹⁰ Melville describes them critically as 'demolishers' in *Typee* and *Omoo* and Ballantyne approvingly as 'saviours' in *The Coral Island*. As opposed to the fact that in these texts the missionary is, better or worse, the imperial British (European) subject itself, in 'The Beach of Falesá' he is only a model among some European subjects (though still powerful). However, in London's 'The Whale Tooth' set in Fiji, the protagonist, Starhurst, a white missionary, is popular among some islanders, but is eaten by cannibals because he ignores their custom in the name of God. In Maugham's 'Rain' a missionary, Davidson, engaging in mission work with his wife in Samoa, attempts to expel/reform a prostitute, Thompson, but has an affair with her and kills

himself. The 'South Sea rain' makes him go wrong. He is so rigorous as to be detestable not only to Thompson but also to Macphail, a medical doctor similar to the author. This story 'no doubt has had a damaging effect on the popular image of the foreign missionary, for many thousands of readers and theatre- and cinema-goers think of a missionary only in terms of Mr Davidson' (Cordell 150).

In Japanese-owned Micronesia, where some native people had already been reclaimed through Spanish and German missionary work, Japanese civil servants – mainly schoolteachers – played the role of missionary to Japanise the natives.¹¹ Those Christian missionaries in the Western stories are self-assertive in the name of God, enthusiastic about propagation and education, and considerate towards islanders, blending in with their routine. Japanese schoolteachers in Japanese works are more or less authoritative in the name of the empire or *Tenno*, terrifying native children into compliance (depicted in Maruyama's *An Account of a Journey in the South Seas*, Ishikawa's 'A Journal of the Archipelagos', and Nakajima's 'Hens') and eager for a contest for power with a Japanese policeman rather than education (Nakajima's 'Fubutsu Sho' [An Abridgement of Things South Sea]). Kubo's 'Public School' depicts almost exceptionally dedicated teachers (like the white missionary characters in the Western texts) and their difficulties with islanders. In all cases, the teachers are not eliminated or thoroughly criticised in the texts since writing such a story means treason against state power, as will be mentioned again later.¹²

The negative attitudes towards missionaries Christianising/Europeanising the natives in the Western writers' works and their preference for the South Seas' 'superstitious' or 'supernatural' tales and, further, for native points of view are two sides of the same coin. In 'Falesá', Wiltshire narrates Uma's tales of witches and a boar, which haunt him despite his attempt to neglect them. In Maugham's 'Honolulu', which contains Captain Butler's 'strange' tale about a native young man and woman, he writes:

It is the meeting-place of East and West. The very new rubs shoulders with the immeasurably old. And if you have not found the romance you expected you have

come upon something singularly intriguing. [...]

If I have dwelt on the incongruity of Honolulu, it is because just this, to my mind, gives its point to the story I want to tell. It is a story of primitive superstition, and it startles me that anything of the sort should survive in a civilisation which, if not very distinguished, is certainly very elaborate. I cannot get over the fact that such incredible things should happen, right in the middle, so to speak, of telephones, tram-cars, and daily papers. (Maugham 200-201)

This taste for local 'mysteries' is typical of Orientalists, who often seek for astonishment. Maugham writes himself in the preface to the collection: 'I had always had a romantic notion of the South Seas, I had read of those magic islands in the books of Herman Melville, Pierre Loti and Robert Louis Stevenson, but what I saw was very different from what I had read. It was not nearly so romantic, but it was wonderful all the same' (xiii). Even so, however, Maugham's stories alter such an Orientalist interest in local 'superstitious' viewpoints or 'supernatural' phenomena as a mere romantic desire for amazement into a dialogical anti-romantic behaviour. Such viewpoints or phenomenon do agents of colonial power a bad turn. In a dispute over a native girl, a native Hawaiian mate's (called Banana by Captain Butler) curse makes Butler critically ill in 'Honolulu'. Enigmatic counterblow of islanders to Europeans like that can be seen, as already mentioned, in Maugham's 'Mackintosh' and 'The Pool'. The natives of 'Mackintosh' are grieved at the death of their white tyrants and Ethel of 'The Pool' feels all the more aversion to, rather than being moved by, his English husband returning to Samoa from Scotland for her. Those islanders' 'unexpected' responses bring the European characters to ruin.

In Maugham's tales, moreover, Europeans' feeling of incongruity towards Europeans in the Pacific is expressed acutely. Walker of 'Mackintosh' and a trader called Red of 'Red' is depicted as enigmatic Europeans in the area. And in 'The Fall of Edward Barnard', Bateman, a young Chicagoan, is unable to understand his friend, Edward, who resolves to go native in Tahiti and break up with his beautiful, intelligent, fashionable fiancée, Isabel, whom Bateman is in

his secret love with. This story, told in a Chicago framework, paradoxically represents an idyllic Pacific, to which '[t]ravel agencies and steamship companies were, possibly still are, indebted' (Cordell 146). For Bateman, life in the South Seas is abrasive and Edward's deed is no doubt a 'fall'. Edward's 'fall', however, leads Bateman and Isabel to seize an opportunity to become a law to themselves as does Edward in Samoa – Bateman proposes marriage to Isabel and she confesses to him her long-standing love of him. Maugham's stories (unlike Becke's and London's) focus on some effects of colonial encounters of Europeans and islanders not only on the latter but on the former, and syncretic cultural situations in the Pacific influencing Europeans through Europeans.

Importantly, these stories by Maugham, although describing some impacts of the Pacific on powerful Europeans, do not allow the islanders to usurp or escape colonial power by force. In 'Falesá', too, Uma, an atypical strong woman as she is in the end, is not in an equal place with white men. She is still in a position of the weak. Likewise, the natives, as the local storyteller Oti of London's 'Yah! Yah! Yah!' relates, are resigned to their European rulers' outrageous deeds since European colonisers are inherently 'hell'. Uma and Oti cannot retaliate against colonialist powers by force as can Wiltshire. Those stories, however, indicate that these colonised subjects can affect the oppressors through their storytelling with their standpoints of the oppressed, not taking over European authority. This is significant because what is of importance for decolonising schemes seems to be circumventing both being undermined by stronger colonial power and participating in circulation of violence.

Becke's 'Pallou's Tâloi' and 'The Doctor's Wife' and London's 'The House of Mapuhi' and 'The Heathen' also contain this perspective. In 'Pallou's Tâloi' half-Paumotuan Pallou guards his wife Tâloi against Frenchmen's sexual desires and shoots himself dead when she dies of illness. Tâloi, a young islander brought up and educated in Sydney, could choose to part with her husband, a middle-aged uncouth trader, and marry a Frenchman if she wishes, but she does not do so. This couple gives a strong impression to the white narrator.

In 'The Doctor's Wife' the native old woman Lâgisiva ironically speaks of

European customs of consanguineous marriage as ‘the beasts of the forest – the wild goat and pig – without reason and without shame’:

Even in our heathen days we pointed the finger at one who looked with the eye of love on the daughter of his father’s brother or sister – for such did we let his blood out upon the sand. (Becke 125-126)

Appropriating a European viewpoint of heathens, Lâgisiva, a poor widow, ridicules a rich white doctor and his wife who is his cousin as ‘more savage than we in our heathen days’.

‘The House of Mapuhi’ is ‘the writer’s classic depiction of a South Sea hurricane’, in which a Paumotua family is released from debts and exploitation which European colonialism has caused (Day 1985, xxiv). A hurricane wipes out traders who have attempted to benefit from Mapuhi’s pearl by buying it at a bargain rate and transferring it in rotation up to France. Mapuhi’s mother, Nauri, finds a trader’s corpse during her drifting in the sea in the wake of the hurricane:

It was Levy, the German Jew, the man who had bought the pearl and carried it away on the *Hira*. Well, one thing was evident: the *Hira* had been lost. The pearl-buyer’s god of fishermen and thieves [which ‘Hira’ means] had gone back on him. (London 43)

The text shows the native people’s viewpoint that it is the local god who removes this agent of colonialist exploiters. Nauri, despite being an old woman, regains the pearl from the corpse, survives starvation and a shark’s attack and returns home. Mapuhi, his wife and his daughter also survive the calamity.

In ‘The Heathen’, Otoo, a native and the only ‘heathen’ of Bora Bora, is indispensable for the narrator Charley, a white trader, to ‘[live] a straighter and better man’.

He was no fighter. He was all sweetness and gentleness, a love-creature, though he stood nearly six feet tall and was muscled like a gladiator. He was no fighter, but he was also no coward. He had the heart of lion; and in the years that followed I have seen him run risks that I would never dream of taking. (169)

Otoo saves Charley's life many times and dies in the end to rescue him from a shark. The native rejects conversion and waste of money in his life.

Thus, not seeking for power or resorting to violence, the islanders of Becke's and London's tales affect white colonialist agencies in different ways. The texts make this kind of counterattack feasible through local standpoints, which are depicted as hybridised to some extent but different from imperialists'.

Stevenson's and Nakajima's islander characters

Stevenson's 'The Bottle Imp' and 'The Isle of Voices' precede the aforementioned stories such as Becke's 'Pallou's Tâloi' and London's 'Mauki' in that they have the islander protagonists. In the two stories, both supernatural tales set in Hawai'i, which was just before the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by an 1893 revolt led by American businessman and missionary descendants, Stevenson gives colonialist power to the native Hawaiians. Keawe, the protagonist of 'The Bottle Imp', buys in San Francisco a magic bottle of a devil from a white man. The bottle is reputed to grant any request of its possessor but lead him to the inferno if he dies before selling it to someone cheaper than when he buys it. The bottle, its price already low to the nearly utmost limit, has been changing hands since Prester John through Captain Cook and Napoleon, functioning as a tool for imperial rules. In 'The Isle of Voices' the protagonist Keola's father-in-law, Kalamake, is a sorcerer, working him hard and exploiting an uncivilised island called 'the isle of voices' where the cannibal islanders cannot see, but only hear, their foreign exploiters – Europeans and Asians – including Kalamake. Keola has the benefit of his father-in-law's sorcery.

The native protagonists' attitudes towards such power are vague, however.

They rely on it and reject it at the same time. Soon after realising only a hope – building himself a mansion on the Island of Hawai‘i – by dint of the bottle, Keawe transfers it. However, he has to regain it for his fiancée, Kokua, a young islander girl, when he knows that he has contracted leprosy. Although succeeding in curing his disease owing to the bottle, they suffer from their need to sell it. For, when it is sold next time, the buyer can no longer sell it – it cannot be cheaper any more even in Tahiti where the value of money is low compared with Hawai‘i. But in the end a white whaler man buys it from Keawe, not believing his warning that he would go to hell.

Keola, although delighted with Kalamake’s praise of him for his hard work and enduring his exploitation for his wife, the sorcerer’s daughter, Lehua, resolves to escape from Kalamake and leave Lehua and reaches the isle of voices. Just like Tom in Melville’s *Typee*, Keola receives every imaginable service from the islanders and takes a local wife, living in fear of being eaten. He escapes from the isle with the help of Lehua, who has tracked him, while the cannibals are struggling against an axe floating in the air, whose wielder is invisible and is likely to be Kalamake. The tale concludes with the couple’s liberation from the sorcerer, although they lose a fortune that they appropriated from Kalamake, due to following a white missionary’s advice to subscribe it to funds for lepers and missionaries, which were both brought by European civilisation.

So, these stories ask whether obtaining colonialist power or benefiting from it is really good for the native islanders.

These Stevenson’s Hawaiian protagonists live almost European-style lives, being men of European education, and play European-like roles in the tales. They receive strong support from their native wives just as does so Wiltshire, an English trader, from Uma in ‘Falesá’. Both of the native protagonists visit geopolitically subordinate Pacific islands less civilised than Hawai‘i – Tahiti and ‘the isle of voices’ – to follow their own convenience. The protagonists are intruders in a sense for the people of these islands. On the other hand, they emphasise their difference from Europeans. ‘Haole’ (white) characters are inert, wretched or drunken. Like Oti in London’s ‘Yah! Yah! Yah!’, Keola knows ‘white

men are like children and only believe their own stories' (Stevenson 112).

Thus, Keawe and Keola approximate to Japanese characters in the 1930s' and the early 1940s' Japanese stories and travel writings – Dankichi, Nakajima's 'I', and so on – rather than to Uma and some of the islander characters such as Lâgisiva (Becke), Otoo (London) and Ethel (Maugham).

As we have seen, Nakajima also writes stories with Pacific islanders as main characters. With exceptions of a patriarch in 'Kofuku' (Happiness) and Ebiru in 'Fufu' (A Married Couple), all those islanders are the weak having no means to eliminate their oppressors, but they give some blows, but non-violent ones, to them. Mariyan, a highly civilised indigenous woman, affects the Japanese protagonist with a worldview of her own as a colonised subject culturally blended but not completely Japanised, just as Uma does so to Wiltshire. An old man ('Hens'), Napoleon ('Napoleon' [Napoleon]) and a woman ('Kyochikuto no Ie no Onna' [A Woman in a House with Red Jasmine Trees]) are depicted as baffling and inscrutable, that is, as people out of perspective, without any consistent subjectivity – management from the vanishing point – that is the major premise of images of human beings in modern Europe.

In 'Happiness' and 'A Married Couple', too, both set in Micronesia before Japan's rule and having islanders as the protagonists, Nakajima focuses on the wretched who cannot expect themselves released from their shackles: a patriarch's servant in 'Happiness' and Ebiru's submissive husband Gira Koshisan in 'A Married Couple'. In these stories Nakajima enables the feeble protagonists to escape from oppressions not by giving them power to overthrow the rules by force but by putting oppressing power (not the oppressors) out of existence through 'enigmas' of Nanyo. A dream which both the patriarch and the servant have every night enervates the former and refreshes the latter. Local customs of women's scuffle and unmarried women's prostitution-like service break down Ebiru's insolence and Gira Koshisan's cowardice.

Therefore it can be said that Nakajima's tales headlined by natives show how power could be erased, compared with Stevenson's counterparts indicating power's shift and intertwinement between the strong and the weak, although both

obfuscate the boundary between the oppressors and the oppressed. Importantly Nakajima creates the Pacific in which Western or Japanese characters do not appear. Whereas Western writers and other Japanese writers only criticise ways of colonisation, Nakajima's target is colonialism itself.

Notes

¹ Bill Ashcroft et al. point out: 'The "respect" paid to cultures such as India and China [...] was also a way of asserting the ability of the superior European civilization which was "on the side of history" to absorb and surpass their achievements. / African cultures [...] offered a much more challenge. This challenge could only be absorbed into the European frame as a mirror image, or more appropriately, the negative of the positive concept of the civilized, the black Other to the white norm, the demonic opposite to the angels of reason and culture' (159). '[T]he disruption of [the canon of "classical texts"] by new, "exotic" texts can be easily countered by a strategy of incorporation from the centre' (196).

² After two years of voyaging throughout the Pacific islands since 1888, the Scottish writer Stevenson became a resident in Samoa in 1889 at the age of 39 to spend the rest of his life. Becke, an Australian, was an itinerant since 1869 aged 14 as an island trader, beachcomber, whaler, pearler, gold prospector, bank clerk, 'blackbirder', and supercargo. London, born in San Francisco in 1876, voyaged in the Pacific for two years in 1907-1909, visiting Hawai'i, the Marquesas, the Society group, Samoa, Fiji, the Solomons, and other islands. The English author Maugham, born in 1874, spent several months in 1916 visiting the islands of Polynesia.

³ Stevenson to Sidney Colvin, 28 Sep. 1891, Booth and Mehew 7: 161. Roslyn Jolly suggests: 'What was new about his Pacific writing was its movement towards the realistic depiction of contemporary life. Although he also wrote children's stories, travel works, and fantasy literature, Stevenson's name had been particularly associated with historical romance; the new interest in contemporary realism was therefore a significant shift in focus. Stevenson was aware that his fiction was changing, [...]. The real turning-point was 'The Beach of Falesá', which Stevenson saw as a ground-breaking work, in terms both of the fiction of the Pacific and of his own stylistic development.' (xxvi-xxvii).

⁴ The text's exoticism attained its applause on the one hand, its realism incurred its bowdlerisation on the other. 'Set in the Western Pacific, using the pidgin and rough slang of the region, and told by a white trader who sleeps with and later marries a stunning native girl, *Falesá* undermined the ethos of imperial England. It took for its subjects miscegenation, colonialism, the exploitation of brown people, and, indeed, the very idea of the white man's presence in the Pacific' (Menikoff 4-5).

⁵ '[Entrepreneurs] needed a colonial government to guarantee their possession and facilitate the procurement of labour; the government needed them to create revenues' (Bennett 41).

⁶ Becke, Day suggests, 'in a sense started at the top of his bent, and maintained his standards, with some exceptions, through a decade and a half'. 'Becke's themes are usually simple but avoid moralizing. His characters are also rather simple, as befits the setting in the South Pacific'. 'Becke's style is unchangingly straightforward, limited, and abrupt, although now and again his evocation of an island scene verges on the poetic' (1966, 17, 75, 77).

⁷ For plantations in the Pacific except Hawai'i and Fiji, 'labourers were recruited in Melanesia, mainly from the Solomons and the New Hebrides. The recruiters, known in the early days as blackbirders, introduced a system of indenture whereby islanders obligated their labour for a few years in exchange for subsistence, a small wage, and a bonus of cash or goods on their return home. In practice, islanders were often tricked or kidnapped. Some of them were reasonably well treated, but many were not, and their rewards were not always as promised. Sometimes by choice, a minority never saw their homeland again. At its worst, the labour trade – blackbirding – was akin to slavery, and towards the end of the nineteenth century public outcry forced the colonial powers to end the practice and institute controls over the recruiting and return of labourers' (Kiste 24-25).

⁸ Kojin Karatani suggests that Western European 'passionate love' is an 'illness' breaking out only in Christianity no matter how anti-Christian it might be. In Japan, those who were influenced by Western literature began to imitate Western love at the end of the nineteenth century. 'Love' (*renai*, different from conventional *koi*) spread through 'modern literature' (1988, 106-107).

⁹ Ania Loomba points out: 'If colonial power is repeatedly expressed as a white man's possession of black women and men, colonial fears centre around the rape of white women by black men' (164).

¹⁰ 'At times [Christian missionaries] co-operated with colonial governments; at others they opposed them. Some missionaries shared the racial prejudices of their contemporaries in government and business, but most tried to protect their converts from the excessive demands of these parties' (Bennett 40).

¹¹ In Micronesia under Japan's control it was public schools rather than Shinto shrines that functioned equivalently to Christian churches. 'Officially dedicated in February, 1940, the shrine physically represented the power and authority of the Japanese nation in Micronesia. [...] This most prominent Shinto structure, like all others in the islands, was never intended as a place of worship for Japan's Micronesian subjects; rather, it served as a focus for their assumed awe and respect' (Hanlon 96). As for relations between foreign missionaries and the Japanese colonial government, except the period of World War One when the Japanese navy restricted missions and mission activities, the Japanese government viewed Christianity affirmatively as instrumental in improving the natives' literacy, health and sanitation standards, appreciation of productive economic activities, and check against sexual licence, until the approach of World War Two (Hanlon 100-101).

¹² On education in European-colonised Pacific Islands, Kiste writes: 'In keeping with their objectives, Protestants and Catholics alike developed orthographies for some of the more widely used Pacific languages. To read the Scriptures it was necessary to be literate, and the art of reading was taught with great vigour' (23-24). Regarding education under Spanish and German colonial rule in Micronesia, Hanlon suggests: 'In the early years of formal colonial rule, missionaries carried the burden of educating as well as proselytising; they were not without governmental support and assistance, however. [...] In general, mission schools placed particular emphasis on basic literacy and "practical" skills, with advanced study for those students chosen to serve as missionaries to other islands or as local mission assistants' (102). But '[t]he most encompassing, self-serving colonial education system belonged to the Japanese' (Hanlon 102; The large school system was mentioned in Chapter 2). 'What learning occurred generally consisted of rote memorisation and group recitation, with heavy doses of corporal punishment for incorrect answers or apparent laziness' (Hanlon 103).

Chapter 8

South Sea Stories and the Wars

Re-romanticising the Pacific after world wars

In the 1920s and 1930s, when romantic clichés of Nanyo were repeatedly produced in Japan, romance also became the main current of Western literary works on the Pacific again. Those years were ‘years of social experiment; but the laboratories of the interwar years were much more anxious than they had been at the turn of the century’ (Denoon 290). In the whole age of those two decades there was a ‘sense of having barely squeaked through one war’ and a ‘gradually augmenting awareness of the approaching menace of another’ (Fussell vii). The yearning under the Depression for escape to a South Sea paradise lasted and reached the zenith in the plunge into the Cold War. Robert Dean Frisbie’s *The Book of Puka-Puka* (1929) and James Albert Michener’s *Tales of the South Pacific* (1947) are typical of such re-romanticisation.

Both of these American writers wrote their first-hand experiences, playing a role of both protagonist and first-person narrator. Frisbie, born in Ohio in 1896, lived on Polynesian islands since 1920 as a South Sea trader after medically discharged from the US Army towards the end of World War One. He wrote and sent off to New York his sketches of about four-year life on Puka Puka in the Cooks. Michener, also an American writer, born in 1907, served the US Navy. sent to the Pacific in 1944 as an aviation inspector of sorts. as well as a publications officer. He toured in the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Norfolk Island. During off-duty hours he wrote *Tales of the South Pacific*.

How different they are from earlier versions of South Sea romances by Melville is an important point. On the other hand, there is also some continuity between the anti-romantic writings by the quartet dealt with in the previous chapter and the two neo-romances. Differences between Stevenson's and Frisbie's works, both writers resident in Polynesia and suffering from tuberculosis, have to be considered, too. Clarifying these points, this chapter will envisage the two texts and their contemporary Japanese counterparts comparatively and suggest how depiction of the Pacific changed through World War Two, both in English and Japanese texts.

A 'hybrid paradise' in Frisbie's *The Book of Puka-Puka*

On travel books written between the wars, Paul Fussell suggests that how people thought them indispensable those days and how unlikely it would be that any other age would produce them. 'The illusion of freedom' is valuable in the 1920s and 1930s, when 'the shades of the modern prison-house are closing in, when the passports and queues and guided tours and social security numbers and customs regulations and currency controls are beginning gradually to constrict life' (Fussell 203). The between-the-wars travel books can be considered as vehicles for undergoing 'an access of moral freedom', or as 'a subtle instrument of ethics', replacing sermons and essays (Fussell 204). South Sea writings in the period by Western and Japanese writers such as Frisbie, Charles Bernard Nordhoff and James Norman Hall, Yoichi Nakagawa and Sei Ando are cases in point of those books.

The Book of Puka-Puka inherits from Stevenson's 'The Beach of Falesá' realistic scenes of cultural hybridity, linguistic diversity, interracial marriage and magical local tales, although Frisbie's goal was Melville's *Moby Dick* and his idol was Stevenson as a romance writer of *An Island Voyage* and *In the South Seas*. Indeed, *Puka-Puka*, written in 'a vivid, graceful style', is 'a happy book', 'a creation of the author's illusions of being largely at peace with himself' (Potočník 61, 65). The first of his six books is said to already have 'the top of his form'

deserved to be called 'classic' (Day 1957, xxiii). The white American trader Ropati (Frisbie), an escapee from the Western civilisation like Melville, Loti, Stevenson and Gauguin, seeks an island farthest from civilisation and comes to Puka-Puka or 'Danger Island' as a trading company's representative. For this agent of Western literary romanticism and US economic colonialism, the island is 'the last earthly paradise' in the world. This island is nearly non-civilised: he is the only white resident and the first trader settler. Travel books have a 'complex relation to adjacent forms' – 'war memoir, comic novel, quest romance, picaresque romance, pastoral romance' (Fussell 206). Frisbie's travel book is a displaced quest/pastoral romances of Melville, Ballantyne, Loti, Stevenson, and Gauguin.

However, Puka-Puka is a 'hybrid paradise', not an 'immaculate paradise' like the Typee Valley and the Coral Island. White missionaries had already converted the islanders to Christianity except for an old man, William. Even this 'heathen' speaks not only Puka-Pukan but also English and Spanish and wears a European straw hat. Some islanders who have been to Rarotonga, Tahiti or Apia have come in touch with American cinema culture. Ropati is an accelerator of such 'hybridisation': he brings some Western goods and food, marries a native girl, and teaches English songs to the native children while he attempts to assimilate himself to the natives' culture and life-styles. The text is also syncretic itself: each chapter begins with a native chant written both in Puka-Pukan and English, and the text contains some local myths, ideas, and views. Frisbie made use of such syncretism as did Stevenson and so on.

Although the text shares these points with its preceding 'realistic' South Sea fictions, in *The Book of Puka-Puka*, as a between-the-wars travel book, 'two apparently separated modes of perception, reportage and fable, literal record and parable, tend to coalesce' (Fussell 214). Frisbie, unlike them, romanticises the island as a 'paradise'. Whereas the white trader Wiltshire of 'Falesá' has a sense of mission to civilise islanders materially and has a hatred for white missionaries' activities of spiritual civilisation, Ropati feels some aversions both to material and spiritual civilisation of the islanders. He is a quester after a

'natural paradise' like Melville's and Ballantyne's white protagonists in preceding Pacific romances. However, compared with these characters' quests which are accompanied by terror of cannibalism, Ropati's visit does not involve such anxiety. In fact, he can regard the island as a 'paradise' because he can live his pleasure-seeking life divorced from such fear (though he experiences a terrible hurricane) as well as a Western idea of 'progress'. He takes voluminous books to the island. His 'paradise' relies on moderate Westernisation, mainly Christianisation, of the islanders, and his 'escape' from the Western society does not mean escape from Western literary civilisation.

Micronesia was also 'the last earthly paradise' for the Japanese writers Yoichi Nakagawa and Sei Ando. Their romantic travel books, like *Puka-Puka*, depict a great desire for an 'immaculate paradise'. Attracted by Gauguin's 'adventure' for 'beauty' in Tahiti, Nakagawa celebrates the 'wild beauty' of native Saipanese women in his *Nettai Kiko* (An Account of a Tropical Journey, 1934). In his *Nanyo Ki* (An Account of the South Seas, 1936) Ando finds the 'natural beauty' and 'indolent life' in Palau, going further southwards for more 'adventure'. But for them, the islands were 'our South Sea Islands' and the islanders' cultural hybridisation inevitably caught their attention. Although vexed at the increase of Japanese immigrants encouraged by the colonial government and industry, Nakagawa does not criticise Japan's colonialism itself. 'Japanisation' chagrined Nakagawa and Ando who had a taste for exotic and idyllic South Seas on the one hand. But it was needed for them to mitigate their anxieties in the unfamiliar place on the other. This contradiction can also be seen in *Puka-Puka*, but unlike Frisbie, the Japanese writers do not reproach the Japanese colonial government, eulogising Japan's expansion.

Facilitating domestication but attempting to reserve some 'indigenouslyness' – this colonialist desire (fear) is common to the Western and Japanese romances. In *Dankichi the Adventurous*, Dankichi can be intimate with the natives so long as he is conscious of his being a 'Japanese'; he cannot be identified with the natives no matter how deeply he may 'go native' or domesticate them. For them, Dankichi (*Tenno*) is a being to whom they can never assimilate themselves.

Although he is oscillating between 'self' and 'other', the natives are 'others' to the last. The text depicts how increasingly the 'distant others' (cannibals) turn into the 'close others' (Japanised native subjects). Dankichi's 'hybrid paradise' lays more stress on domestication than preservation. (This reflects actual policy of Japanese colonial government.)

In contrast, Ropati's 'hybrid paradise' gives priority to preserving its natural state. From the viewpoint of the Japanese text, the natives of *Puka-Puka* are 'remote relatives', instead of 'others', to Ropati. In the Western text, despite racial differences, the both sides can be identified if the white man goes native thoroughly or the natives are civilised completely. Ropati repeatedly states that the natives are 'childlike' or 'childish' to express their alterity. ('Mama hovered around, feeling my hair, running her long bony fingers into my pockets to examine their contents with childish delight' (Frisbie 38); '[Maloko] bawled like a school-girl' [80]; '[Maloko] dried her tears at once like a child when it receives the stick of candy it has been crying for' [81]; 'Then something will happen to convince me that these men and women of mature stature are, have been, and always will be children, and in order to account for their actions I have to hark back to my own childhood days' [147].) But in the modern view of 'child', as was mentioned previously, 'children' are the same human beings but inferior to (white) adults. He also often likens them to 'apes'. In modern evolutionary theory, 'apes' 'monkeys' are the 'closest relatives' to human beings. Ropati and the natives could be put in the same category beyond 'racial differences'. Because of this colonialist fear, although dramatising intimacy of Ropati and the natives, Ropati does not want to assimilate them and spoil his paradise and the text must attempt to keep difference between them.

The text oscillates between 'similarity' and 'difference' to keep the natives from becoming 'close relatives' to Ropati, far from *Dankichi's* optimistic nationalism. Ropati sometimes regards himself as a typical white man, but sometimes attempts to divorce himself from Western traditional values. He (like Stevenson) learns the native language and soon is accepted by the natives, who have only 'a vague notion of what Christianity is about, nevertheless they are

great church-goers' (30). Showing both sympathy and contempt for the islanders, he, for example, admires their equal and indolent society (Chapter V) and approves of young natives' love festivals, saying that their sexual freedom lightens disillusionment after marriage (VI). However, after interpolating his complaint about white missionaries' importunate demand that the islanders wear clothes, he objects to the festivals by confessing his sexual desire and jealousy for a native girl, Little Sea:

Although I thoroughly sanctioned the love fests for young Puka-Pukans, a white man [i.e., Ropati] of necessity labors under the heritage of his blood: jealousy is bred into him through countless generations of men for whom chastity was a social necessity. (VI: 90)

Frisbie's remark on the difference in love and marriage between Westerners and Puka-Pukans coincides with the American anthropologist Margaret Mead's argument on Samoans in her *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). 'Romantic love as it occurs in our civilization, inextricably bound up with monogamy, exclusiveness, jealousy, and undeviating fidelity, does not occur in Samoa. [...] As the Samoans lack the inhibitions and the intricate specialization of sex feeling which make marriages of convenience unsatisfactory, it is possible to bulwark marital happiness with other props than temporary passionate devotion. Suitability and expediency become the deciding factors' (Mead 88-89). This anthropological interest as an attitude to overthrow prohibitive Victorian values by establishing the 'other' consists in viewing Western civilisation or individuality in a positive way as well as regarding Samoa as a 'paradise'. Patrick Morrow points out: 'What Mead accomplishes with *Coming of Age in Samoa* is a response to the cold and negative warnings of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*. She also attempts to show the positive way another culture raises its adolescent girls. Instead of writing a modernist literary work, where she would unleash a litany of what features are wrong with America, Mead attempts to accentuate the positive by using science to verify the reality that Samoa is

another culture that *can* do things right' (140). Such a 1920s US/British attitude, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, can be distinguished from the contemporary Japanese anthropological view of Micronesians as the 'origin' of the Japanese.

In *The Book of Puka-Puka*, thereafter, Ropati continues to differentiate himself from the islanders both from his and their standpoints. Differences in attitude towards a hurricane's attack (XII), a native's death (XV), and European food (XVII) are described. After that, Ropati maintains his closeness to the people, depicting his out-and-out antipathy against the white official Withers, a stereotyped colonialist. Withers does not hesitate to force his 'European standards' on the natives, insists on his duty to conduct himself and assert his superiority, and shows fear of 'contamination' (XVIII). However, Ropati does not make clear how the natives feel about the white official. Does Ropati's strong aversion to Withers really gain the Puka-Pukans' sympathy? Ropati asserts that 'not a trace of his [Withers'] influence remains [in Puka-Puka]' (235). It is even ludicrous that Ropati vehemently denounces such a non-influential person only because he is a genuine colonialist. The text assigns Withers a role of pulling Ropati apart from the 'white men' and putting him closer to the 'natives' in an arbitrary way. (In fact, Dankichi is fairly similar to Withers in those respects. But in the Japanese text, foreign, mainly Western, characters play such a role of villain. Dankichi also does not take into consideration the natives' feelings about the 'villains'. Japanese texts did not critique Japanese colonial agents overtly until the post-war period.)

Puka-Puka in turn weakens this strong sense of affinity towards the natives in the following chapters through, for instance, the only heathen William's metaphor of women as coconuts (XXII) and his wife Mama's view of America as a large atoll (XXVIII). William makes retortion to white contemptuous views of natives, saying to Ropati:

the Puka-Puka youth are as foolish as the white man, for they listen to the teachings of the missionaries and try to ape the white men's ways. [...] In the end he often

marries the girl without having known her more than a month or two in the love
fests. Blood and damnation! Unless you live with a wench a few years, how are you
going to know what she is? More than likely you'll find that she won't do any work at
all, and then what compensation have you got for your loss of freedom? (269)

In the last chapter of the text (XXIX), William tells Ropati that the white man is
not qualified to have opinions in local matters, when Ropati questions him about
his explanations of the ancient dead. Ropati turns out to be an outsider to the
Puka-Pukan community. But in the end, before a cemetery, William says to him:

“Do you see that blank space to the right? That’s for Mama and me.”

Suddenly he grasped me by the shoulder, put his face close to mine, and gazed
into my eyes with a leering, drunken smile.

“But there’s plenty of room for three, Ropati! We’ll leave a place for you.
Carramba!” he shouted. “I will now compose the rest of your death chant!” (356)

Ropati, although looked on as the ‘other’ by William, is accepted by the native
farthest from the white man. Humorous conclusion as this is, it suggests
Ropati’s ambivalent feeling towards the islanders’ value. Their view of death
unaccompanied with any fear, as well as that of love without jealousy, is
unacceptable to him in the end. Both points had (has) been repeatedly
maintained as the main differences of the civilised and uncivilised in colonialist
discourses, whether Western or Japanese.

In *Puka-Puka*, Stevenson et al.’s criticism (since Melville) of colonial
administrative and missionary activities is confirmed, but their realistic and
mostly negative depiction of transracial love is re-romanticised; violence and
murder are also seen but not realistically, only employed in local fables.
Precedent white characters’ interrupted or frustrated loves (with Fayaway in
Melville’s *Typee* and with Rarahu in Loti’s *Le Mariage de Loti*) are completed in
the self-indulgent loves of Ropati with Little Sea and her cousin Desire. His
sexual desire for Little Sea, ‘a little Cinderella’, is gratified and he marries her:

Soon after we too returned to the village, whereupon Desire went into the hut. while Little Sea and I sat on a coconut frond that lay invitingly before the door. Then – I don't know exactly how it happened, but it seemed the only thing to do under the circumstances, and I could think of no reason for not doing it; furthermore, I felt that our happiness depended upon it. So I lay down and fell asleep with Little Sea's head resting on my arm. (125)

His pursuit of happiness in his sex life goes so far as to desire a younger girl although he is not dissatisfied with his wife:

A surge of passion rose in me. Desire was in the first bloom of womanhood, slim, graceful, with a seductive, tantalizing mouth, the lips just full enough to be warmly passionate. Leaning over the railing I called to her. [...]

It must have been after midnight when I returned to the veranda. Little Sea was still asleep, her head pillowed on her arm. I felt a twinge of remorse, which was more than most South Sea traders would have felt under like circumstances. (259)

However, he is not to be blamed for such an affair in Puka-Puka. In fact, finding it out immediately, Little Sea does not reproach him, saying: "I was right, after all. Well, I'm glad that you picked my cousin instead of some strange woman" (262). Ropati also no longer needs to look on his store boy Benny with suspicious eyes as Tom (Tommo) does on his attendant Kory-Kory in *Typee*. *Puka-Puka* strengthens South Sea romance as colonialist desire, which is critiqued in works by Stevenson et al.

Nevertheless, Ropati (Frisbie) is no more than an eccentric for most Western people, for whom even having a first-hand experience in Pacific Islands is an unusual thing. He has to remain the exception to be exotic and sales of his book depend on his playing this role. Visitors to the South Sea should return home like the British boys of *The Coral Island* or Dankichi of *Dankichi the Adventurous* that were written for future imperial soldiers. In normative

morality, (as is reflected in these texts) falling in transracial love is depravity. Despite reality in Japanese-owned Micronesia (there were many couples and liaisons of Japanese men and islander women), Japanese texts, whether fictions or travel writings, rarely depict interracial love of the Japanese and Micronesians.¹ Western texts on the Pacific by visiting writers ('eccentric escapists', abhorrrers of European civilisation) often infringe it in ironical ways.

Juxtaposition of paradise and inferno in Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific*

In the Pacific War, violating such morality could be tolerated or justified on the battlefield. Set in Melanesian islands as such battlefields, Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* critically depict interracial love, active violence of Americans, and the colonial military and economic authorities from the viewpoint of an ordinary American man, not an 'eccentric'. (Michener was an 'eccentric' himself, however, calling himself 'a nesomaniac' [Becker 29].) The war produced a situation that even such an unadventurous mediocrity is obliged to stay in the Pacific. In the text an 'earthly paradise' is portrayed from the 'average' person's 'honest' (not a cynic's) standpoint. It is 'not a blood-and-guts novel, nor one that demonstrates the dehumanization imposed by the military machine, nor one that capitalizes on the absurdities of war', all sorting ill with the common touch (Becker 30). But '[o]ne of virtues' of Michener's book, George Becker argues, is its 'unpretentiousness': 'It does not try to tell what war in the Pacific was like on a grand strategic scale. It does not depict heroic action in the hyperbolic sense. Rather, it is a learning experience, both for the reader and for the tens of thousands of military personnel whom the few fictional characters represent' (39-40). Michener's romanticism supported by 'ordinariness' and 'honesty' (in common with *The Coral Island*) must have been more easily accepted under the cold-war situation and contributed to its unprecedented success for Pacific romance for adults. (The work was awarded the Pulitzer Prize as the best novel in 1947, and made into a successful 'musical play' [opened in 1949] and film [in 1958]: *South Pacific*.)² This is quite different from the case of Frisbie, who,

notwithstanding his 'far deeper' contribution to South Pacific literature with his 'unique knowledge of the Pacific islands and people and with his vivid descriptions in his books', never gained a literary reputation (Potočnik 70).³

After World War Two, as opposed to the US that acquired new military bases in Okinawa and once Japanese-owned Micronesia, Japan lost all its Pacific territories. In the immediate post-war period, as was suggested in Part I, for most Japanese people, the Pacific islands became a place associated only with ghastly battles and nuclear testing. Any other relations of the Japanese to Micronesia in the pre-war period were not reflected. Little notice was taken of Japanese writers' cooperations with the war. In pre-wartime, Japanese texts portrayed how the Japanese coloniser was domesticating Micronesians from 'distant others' into 'close others'. In those texts they often voluntarily accept the assimilation policy without explicit resistance.⁴ In wartime, Atsushi Nakajima's tales re-presented them as still 'distant others' who could be acculturated ostensibly but whose minds would never be assimilated. In Takashi Kubo's fiction they raise an objection (though shortly allayed) to the imperial education system: Japanese colonial authority would need more effort to reclaim them completely. All these texts and the relations of the Japanese and Micronesians that they had described were ignored after defeat. In immediate post-war Japanese texts set in Micronesia, it is as if people did not exist in Micronesia except the Japanese and Americans, and Micronesia is only depicted as a real hell on earth. They do not mention the acute suffering of the indigenous population which began as early as 1939, caused by 'insensitive and ultimately brutal exploitation' by the Japanese military, 'an activity that was eventually to corrode whatever loyalties the Micronesians held toward Japan' (Peattie 252). As Tomoya Akimichi points out, the Michener-style Pacific paradise represented in US cinemas such as *South Pacific* or *Blue Hawaii* (1961) cannot be seen in contemporary Japanese films, either. The Pacific is a home of monsters such as Godzilla (241-242).

Tales of the South Pacific, though slightly, depicts Pacific Islanders' involvement in the war. A giant Fiji volunteer scout with 'kinky' hair appears in

a story, 'The Cave'. He speaks in 'Oxford accent', 'shy and afraid of us, even though he stood six-feet-seven' (Michener 67-68). A native with elephantiasis living in a battle site jungle also appears in the story, 'so crippled that he, of all the natives could not flee at our approach' (70). He wails to the narrators, 'Japoni say he killim all fella b'long village we stop 'im 'long ground. All fella b'long here run away you come, like Japoni say. [...] No takem skull, Please!' (71). The text gives us a glimpse of Asia/Pacific people in the sphere of Allied occupation, whose islands were 'abruptly exposed as never before to new influences from outside' (Laracy 156).

However, the text does not mention the fact that the people had 'chances for learning more of life beyond the island' or their significant contribution to the Allied war effort, especially as coastwatchers and labourers at the American bases (Laracy 156). As compared with *Puka-Puka* attempting to adopt local viewpoints, the focus of Michener's text inclines towards how tropical nature/human affairs influence white people, which is also Maugham's pivotal interest shown in his South Sea stories. However, whereas Maugham's tales dismantle Orientalists' paradisaical views of the South Seas in concert with Western Europe's loss of prestige after World War One, Michener's tales re/present them, healing weariness in World War Two and the Cold War.

In Michener's South Seas, both an earthly paradise and a real hell on earth are juxtaposed. (Containing *Typee*-like desire and fear, it is different from Melville's Typee Valley in which a paradise and a hell are intermingled as a whole.) In 'The Cave', such an idea of paradise contiguous to hell is described differently, as follows:

Each man I knew had a cave somewhere, a hidden refuge from war. For some it was love for wives and kids back home. That was the unassailable retreat. When bad food and Jap shells and awful tropic diseases attacked, there was the cave of love. There a man found refuge. For others the cave consisted of jobs waiting, a farm to run, a business to establish, a tavern on the corner of Eighth and Vine. For still others the cave was whiskey, or wild nights in the Pink House at Noumea, or heroism beyond

the call of valor. When war became too terrible or too lonely or too bitter, men fled into their caves, sweated it out, and came back ready for another day or another battle. (66)

The paradisaic Pacific is 'a cave', 'a hidden refuge' from the infernal Pacific as battlefields. In the text, the paradise is a reward, so to speak, for great sufferings accompanied by acts of aggression as 'blatant' as 'have ever set nations fighting' (Laracy 149). So, Michener's paradise and inferno are both more intense than those in any preceding South Sea texts.

This juxtaposition of both ends of Manichaean binarism penetrates the text. The narrator has a disdainful view of natives and a white man married to a native girl ('married to a savage' [62]), but this is set against 'a new type of naval officer' Tony Fry's respectful view of them. Moreover, for young American naval nurses and islander girls, American men are not only partners of romantic love or reliable soldiers protecting them from Japanese attacks, but also would-be rapists. 'Every girl, no matter how ugly or what her color, who might normally be raped by Americans was hidden on Bali-ha'i' (137). Further, whereas 'the Japs' are always remorseless enemies or suicide bombers in the text, the narrator, influenced by Fry's thought, thinks that: 'Even some of them had been good men. And might be again, if they could be left alone on their farms' (65-66).

Unlike Michener's text, David Divine's novel *The King of Fassarai* (1949) set in wartime Micronesia depicts a more downright critical view of Japanese colonisers. They are rapists and destroyers of a paradise ('one of the few perfect places on the earth'): 'they took everything that these islands mean' (Divine 284). The text, written after Japan's Pacific territory was placed under a US trusteeship in 1947, says: '[The islanders] liked [the Japanese] least of three dominant races, but they had an indrawn, inward-keeping philosophy that accepted them as it had accepted the others, making due allowances for their sexual characteristics even as it had made allowances for the sexual characteristics of the others' (30). This is different from the comment in a 1936 travel book by Willard Price, an American visitor to Japanese Micronesia in

1936, that the islanders do regard the rule of Japan as preferable to that of Spain or Germany (Price 303-304 [cited in Chapter 2]; This work was also published in New York in 1936, entitled *Pacific Adventure*).

Although unable to feel so much sympathy for native and Asian immigrant islanders as does Fry, the narrator has sense of balance to accept the person who has quite different thoughts from his. The narrator also has compassion for unknown soldiers and the weak (though mainly for white people). He expresses his distrust of US authorities:

Long before the first ship set sail for Kuralei, almost before the long-range bombers started softening it up, the medical history of the battle was written. Like all such predictions, it was bloody and cruel and remorseless. Insofar as our casualties fell short of the doctors' fearful expectations, we would achieve a great victory. And if our losses amounted to only one half or one third of the predictions, hundreds upon hundreds of homes in the United States would know less tragedy than now they could expect to know. In such an event Admiral Kester would be able to report on the battle in those magic words: "Our losses were unexpectedly light." It was strange. The men who would make up the difference between the expected dead and the actual dead would never know that they were the lucky ones. But all the world would be richer for their having lived. (80)

After all, the narrator (like most people) hopes for a humble everyday life, not the paradise filled with love and sports, as well as the infernal war, which are depicted in the text.

Orientalism and postcoloniality in *Tales of the South Pacific*

The narrator, like average Americans, has to 'plunge into a new world and new circumstances', 'forced to question, if not abandon, the old verities by which they had lived and to which they expected to return' (Becker 40). The text as a whole is not so particularly an exponent of patriotism, racism, hedonism or escapism,

as are its play and film versions, although an antipathy against too conservative and obstinate veterans is expressed in the musical comedy, too.⁵ However, it is also true that Orientalism vis-à-vis the South Seas is condensed in two tales ('Our Heroine' and 'Fo' Dolla") which were to be the dramatised and cinematised parts. In both stories the narrator becomes omniscient, the protagonists are average people like the narrator. 'Our Heroine' tells of a marriage of an American naval nurse, Nellie Forbush, and a French plantation owner, Emile De Becque. The Frenchman has been managing his plantation well for twenty-six years, 'patiently' disciplining Tonkinese workers. He has Javanese, Tonkinese, and Polynesian wives and half-caste daughters.

Emile De Becque, not satisfied with Javanese and Tonkinese women, had also lived with a Polynesian. A nigger! To Nellie's tutored mind any person living or dead who was not white or yellow was a nigger. And beyond that no words could go! Her entire Arkansas upbringing made it impossible for her to deny the teachings of her youth. Emile De Becque had lived with the nigger. He had nigger children. If she married him, they would be her step-daughters. (102)

These explicit economic/sexual desires and racism are offset in the text. The American nurse is already jilted by her boyfriend, a snobbish officer who despises her as 'a little country girl' ('An Officer and a Gentleman'). She overcomes these consecutive tragic obstacles to marry De Becque, the leader of resistance against 'the Japs', encouraged by a newspaper praising her as 'our heroine'.

'Fo' Dolla" also and more impressively depicts Orientalist views of Asia/Pacific people, telling of an American officer's transracial friendship, love and marriage. It uses Indo-Chinese as a 'buffer' zone between the white and black. And it also devises to counterbalance such views: the young officer, Joseph Cable, culminates in accepting a French Sister's 'modestly racist' sermon that he give up marriage to a Tonkinese girl, and dies in battle.⁶ The Tonkinese old woman 'Bloody Mary' is 'sloppy in dress' and has 'thin ravines running out

from the corners of her mouth' – these ravines are 'usually filled with betel juice, which made her look as if her mouth had been gashed by a rusty razor' (128). She speaks broken French and only a little English in 'barbarous accents' (136). At the same time, she is 'graceful, quick in her movements, and alternately grave and merry' with a 'yellow' oval face, 'Oriental' eyes, and 'beautifully proportioned' neck (128). Only by talking to her, can Cable heal his own sense of futility and solitude. Bloody Mary is given a mixed image of the typical 'good/bad Oriental' colonised.

In addition, such binarism of 'good/bad savage', conventionally seen in colonialist fantasies, also appears in the story in the form of Bali-ha'i/Vanicoro, two neighbouring islands. It perpetuates Polynesian-Melanesian binary. The former is 'a haven of the seas' where all the women of the islands live, and the latter, 'a magic place', whose inhabitants are the last to abstain from cannibalism. On Bali-ha'i, Cable is enraptured with the girls and falls in love with Bloody Mary's daughter Liat, a 'spirit of Bali-ha'i'; from a Vanicoro islander, he is gifted with a dried human head.

The text's Orientalism is different from that of Japanese texts. The text's view of non-Europeans is as 'distant relatives', not as 'others'. It emphasises their 'otherness' through the difference in overlook of love and marriage between the Tonkinese and Westerners, like most writings on the South Seas/Nanyo.

In their slight talk Cable reported his meeting with Liat's mother. When he came to the part in which he said that he could not marry Liat the girl did not protest, for indeed in her heart, she had known from the first that this tall Marine could not marry her if he would. And now, under the jungle tree, with the speckled moonlight falling upon their intermingled brown bodies, Liat was not too concerned about the future.

With that rare indifference bred of thousands of years of life in the Orient, the little girl said quietly, "I knew it could never be. My mother dreamed that something great would happen to me. It has. But not what she dreamed. You love me. You will go away somewhere. I will marry somebody else." (167)

Liat's 'indifference' is quite different from despair of abandoned South Sea girls such as Fayaway and Rarahu in early Pacific romances. In such an 'Oriental' attitude, Liat is similar to islander women in anti-romantic texts: Uma of Stevenson's 'The Beach of Falesá', Sally of Maugham's 'Red', Mariyan of Atsushi Nakajima's 'Mariyan' and Mercedes of Takashi Kubo's 'Public School'. This 'alterity', however, does not deal so sharp a blow at the American man as it does at colonisers in those texts, because for him, in wartime, 'the thought and speech [of women] were identical in Russia, in New Mexico, in Yokohama, in Dresden and in Bali-ha'i' (168).

Before this 'otherness', non-Europeans are also 'human-beings' from a Christian viewpoint, even if it is almost unacceptable:

Bloody Mary of course was different. She was old and repulsive, with her parched skin and her jagged teeth. But finer than any dog or any book, she was a sentient being with a mind, a personality, a history, a human memory, and – Lt. Cable winced at the idea – a soul. Unlike the restless tropical sea, she grew tired and slept. Unlike the impenetrable jungle, she could be perceived. Unlike the papayas and the road vines, she lived a generation, grew old, and died. She was subject to human laws, to a human rate of living, to a human world. And by heavens, she was an interesting old woman. (135)

The text depicts Asia/Pacific people as the same as Westerners a priori. The categorisation of 'race' or 'nation' or of 'civilisation' and 'savage' is a subordinate concept to the homogenisation of 'human-being' or *Homo sapiens* in Western texts, as repeatedly mentioned in Part II. And (though repeatedly again) in Western texts, differences caused by 'civilisation', which seem to be more difficult to maintain than those caused by *minzoku* (race/nation), are usually stressed (although the latter is closely related to the former). This is true of Michener's text. Cable speculates:

Were Bali-ha'i and all its people merely a part of the grim and brooding old cannibal island? Were Liat and her unfathomable mother merely descendants from the elder savages? No! The idea was preposterous. Tonkinese were in reality Chinese, sort of the way Canadians were Americans, only a little different. And Chinese were the oldest civilised people on earth. He thought of Liat. She was clean, immaculately so. Her teeth were white. Her ankles were delicate, like those of a girl of family in Philadelphia. (146-147)

Although an Orientalist notion of 'ig/noble savage' is projected into her representation, Bloody Mary is also 'the only woman who dared defy both the civil and military governments' (131). The war brought significant changes to Asia/Pacific colonised people, giving them opportunities to have their minds open to outside things and thoughts. 'The implications of such changes' were 'early manifest in a greater readiness' among the people 'to challenge the authority of their colonial rulers' (Laracy 161). Bloody Mary disdainfully hurls back at Cable the expensive watch he had given Liat. It crashes into pieces at his feet.

This 'Oriental' character is resonant with islanders in Pacific texts by islander writers such as Albert Wendt, Epeli Hau'ofa, Milton Murayama, Lois-Ann Yamanaka, and Chris Perez Howard. Such a 'savage' reminds us, too, of Godzilla, which counterattacks modern civilisation. After the 1980s, not monsters but Micronesian islanders begin to strike back at the Japanese in Japanese texts by Natsuki Ikezawa and Nobuhiko Kobayashi for the first time since wartime texts by Atsushi Nakajima. In Part III, depictions of the Pacific Islanders, the Japanese, and Westerners in those islander and Japanese texts which lodge protests against Pacific romance will be comparatively considered.

Notes

¹ Mainly after the 1980s, love scenes set in Micronesia also appeared in Japanese texts (e.g. Koji Tanaka, *Chiisaki Kami no Shimajima* [The Small Islands of God, 1981]; Natsuki Ikezawa, *Natsu no Asa no Seisoken* [The Stratosphere on a Summer Morning, 1984]; Nobuhiko Kobayashi, *Sekai de Ichiban Atsui Shima* [The Hottest Island in the World, 1991]; Ifuna Oda, *Yume no Mikuroneshia: Ponape no Koi* [Dreamlike Micronesia: A Love in Ponape, 1993]; Ikezawa, *Mashiasu Giri no Shikkyaku* [The Downfall of Macías

Gilly, 1993]). These texts describe not only 'licentious' love between Japanese men and women (Tanaka, Kobayashi), but also such transracial love between Japanese women and American men (Tanaka), Japanese men and American women (Tanaka, Ikezawa [1984]), Japanese men and Micronesian women (Oda), and Japanese women and Micronesian men (Kobayashi, Ikezawa [1993]). Some situations must be considered as the backdrop. Japan's cultural Americanisation since occupation promoted sexual 'openness'. Defeat and occupation produced fears/desires of the colonised. Japan's economic advance since the late 1960s brought about self-confidence: Japan's colonial activity and defeat were now 'past' things, and to face such a 'terrible past' was no longer very trying. Japan's new economic colonialism based on tourism renovated colonialist desires and fears. And in the global current of postmodernism and postcolonialism, the Japanese 'wrote back' to Japan's own past and current colonialisms and US military, political, cultural hegemony on the one hand, expressed (their own fear of) islanders' retaliations on the other.

² Rob Wilson argues: 'Even today, the musical is being performed by the Army Community Theater at Fort Shafter in Honolulu: that the U.S. military needs to keep performing *South Pacific* as a fantasy of Pacific Islands space imposed upon Hawai'i and its Asia/Pacific characters is the cold-war masternarrative I want to expose and contest'. 'Hollywood [...] operated with the Department of Defense to install a "concrete fantasy" and images of the American Pacific as *South Pacific*' (358, 359).

³ 'Although *The Book of Puka-Puka* was favorably received by the reviewers of the daily press and by Polynesian enthusiasts like Charles Nordhoff [...] and Frederick O'Brien, it did not bring Robert Dean Frisbie the fame that greeted O'Brien and other authors of the South Seas' (Potočnik 66).

⁴ Fumio Nonaka, for example, mentions briefly old natives' dissatisfaction with forced routine work and so forth in his travel book.

⁵ 'If the novel makes use of the romantic dreams that lure men to lotus islands, the musical comedy *South Pacific* tops it in hearts' (Becker 30).

⁶ "'My son," Sister Clémont began. "You know what I have to say. I say it only to reinforce your own conscience, for you must already have said it to your self. What you are doing is no good. It can only bring hurt to you and disgrace to the girl. If life is so urgent so compelling now, marry one of the lovely French girls who live on this island. Some of them are beautiful. Some are fairly wealthy. Some are surprisingly well educated. And there are Protestants among them, too. If it is so urgent, it must also be important. Do not waste it, I pray you"' (Michener 161).

PART III

Mirror Images between Japan and the Pacific: Postcoloniality in Contemporary Japanese and Pacific Island Texts

Chapter 9

Beyond Godzilla into Macías Gilly

In this final part of this thesis I shall consider how Nanyo- and South-Sea-Orientalisms are appropriated, how Japanese and Western imperialisms and neo-/colonialisms are resisted, and to what extent anti-imperialist discourses within Japan and the West are reflected, in literary texts from Japan and Pacific Islands published since the 1980s, under the 'postcolonial mode' (see Introduction). This chapter will see Japanese postcoloniality depicted in recent Japanese novels set in Micronesia, which were written in the backdrop of Micronesia's decolonisation, the US's military presence and Japan's new economic/tourist advance in Micronesia, and the US's cultural/political pressure on Japan.

'Japanese postcolonialism'

In 1974 the US trusteeship government decided to change its exclusive industrial policy into a policy of introducing foreign capital, having Japan in

mind. It executed a 'subrogation' policy to set up the Micronesian economy through Japan's capital and curtail its own burden. As a result, Japanese tourists to Micronesia increased in number rapidly, although other industries fell short of its expectation (Izumi Kobayashi 226-227). Because of interregional conflicts of interests resulting from its diversity and US military bases in Micronesia, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was disunited and reorganised into the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, Palau, and the Northern Mariana Islands. The former three shifted to the 'free association' states, entrusting security to the US and receiving its financial aid, and became independent as the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands in 1986, and as the Republic of Palau in 1994, respectively. The Northern Mariana Islands became the Commonwealth of the US in 1986.

Japan's neo-colonialist advance, its trade/culture friction with the US, the discord between Japan's non-nuclear principles and Reagan's 'Star Wars', and power politics over Micronesia's independence reanimated Japanese engagement with postcolonialism in the 1980s. Godzilla re-emerged as a victim/destroyer after a nine-year interval (*Gojira* [Godzilla, 1984]). The prewar 'Dankichi syndrome' (Toru Yano 1975, 195) (imagining Nanyo as an uncivilised sphere of wild animals and black cannibals yet to be reclaimed) and the postwar 'Godzilla syndrome' (conceiving Nanyo as a nuclear testing spot filled with a deep-seated grudge against modern civilisation) spread again simultaneously.

In the 1910s-1920s (almost corresponding to the Taisho era) some Japanese writers began to seek non-everyday settings (uncivilised foreign areas, pre-modern Japanese scenes, magical illusions, etc.) under a cosmopolitan atmosphere formed as a result of about forty-year 'modernisation' 'Westernisation' since the Meiji Restoration (Kawamoto). Such cosmopolitanism or universalism supported by Japan's sense of its own greatness can also be seen in the 1980s following about forty-year industrialisation and 'Americanisation' after the postwar reforms (Sadami Suzuki 2-3). In its wholehearted concentration on mass production and consumerism, Japan no longer found

itself isolated or unique in the 1980s.¹ The West had been 'naturalised' (metamorphosed) to the extent that for the rising generation Japan was itself alien and exotic.

'The shosetsu (novel) produced under such conditions', Masao Miyoshi points out, 'is no longer characterized by the perfect/imperfect aspects and "I-ness." As a consumer, the "I" is even less distinguished from the others, while the sense of time, too, is robbed of its experiential discreteness' (25). The immediate postwar postcolonial mode seen in the original version *Godzilla* was replaced by (neo)colonial – industrial and tourist – desires in the 1960s-1970s and again appeared in the 1980s not only in film but also in writing. The *shosetsu* for adults began to deal with the Pacific, which had been mainly a setting of didactic juvenile fiction, films, travel writing, war literature, short stories and poetry. Under such rarefaction of 'I-ness' (a sense of national/individual uniqueness), *shosetsu* on contemporary Micronesia by Natsuki Ikezawa, Nobuhiko Kobayashi, Man Arai, and Koji Tanaka attempt to create new representations of self/other.

These texts criticise economic, cultural and technological imperialism of the US and Japan by using formulaic tropes of the fear of war and nuclear bombs, dead soldiers' souls, and further, tourism, business, and the Micronesian problematic issue of political independence and economic dependence. The writers focus on Micronesia's retaliation against Japanese characters. Nanyo's retaliation against (Western/Japanese) modernity had been depicted since wartime in Atsushi Nakajima's and Takashi Kubo's stories and postwar Toho movies like *Godzilla*. However, except Nakajima's texts that attempt to make the 'close (Japanised) others' afresh into 'distant others' by designating natives as 'incomprehensible South Sea people', those wartime texts re-domesticate indigenes (monsters) after all.

There is a further aspect to such a postcolonial reading: *Godzilla* can be interpreted as a reflection of Japanese feeling after World War Two. Atomic testing ignites resentments amongst a nation plunged into passive dejection during the Occupation period (1945-1952). As Japanese colonialism makes use

of Western colonialisms to justify Japan's expansion to the Pacific, so Japanese postcolonialism utilises the Pacific to reproach the West. (This is a reversal of US imperialism's demonising of Japanese brutality in such works as Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* and its film version *South Pacific*.) While Japanese colonialism asserts its distinction from the Western colonialisms by representing its own colonisers as closer to colonised Asia/Pacific people, Japanese postcolonialism stresses self-criticism so masochistically that the Japanese imagine that they, rather than Asia/Pacific people, are victims. And as Japanese colonialism sits back to back with anti-Western-colonialism, Japanese postcolonialism works in close cooperation with neo-colonialism. Basically, as we saw in Part I, Japanese neo/colonialism plausibly preaches 'affection' towards the colonised, looking on them as 'potential Japanese'. Kojin Karatani makes a point that 'such ideology of "sameness" taking domination for affection produces all the more unintelligible animosity in the ruled' and 'makes the ex-rulers forget the past' (1993, 5). Is postcolonialism in the recent works able to criticise this ideological spell, which *Godzilla's* postcolonialism is also unable to break out of? How do the texts challenge Nanyo-Orientalism that correlates closely with the ambiguity of Japanese post/colonialism and has been producing self-deceiving images of 'Japan', the 'Pacific' and the 'West'?

Lacking 'self', ambivalence to America, counterattack from Micronesia

Koji Tanaka's novel *Chiisaki Kami no Simajima* (The Small Islands of God, 1981), set on Tokyo, Guam, Saipan, Palau, and Truk, reconstructs and demolishes conventional Japanese images of the Pacific as paradise, love, battlefield, and beauty. It does so through the depiction of different, typical relations to contemporary Micronesia of four Japanese characters. The protagonist Fuyuki, a TV writer on the decline in his thirties, seeks an immaculate Utopia on 'southern islands'. His forsaken girlfriend, Mori, a young new actress, visits Micronesia on his trail as tourist. Shinmyo, an elderly gentleman, makes the rounds of Micronesia to gather fallen soldiers' remains.

And Ikuno, a young artist woman, comes to Micronesia to paint its natural beauty and falls in love with Shinmyo, recovering from a trauma inflicted by her father. The text stresses dark sides of tourism and scuba diving (robbery, rape, and the bends). Shinmyo dies of heart failure in Truk when making a dive into the sea to gather ashes of a crew of a sunken submarine. Ikuno returns to Japan in the depths of despair. The dive almost destroys even Fuyuki with professional skill because of air bends in his attempt to rescue Shinmyo, and it also jeopardises Mori. This dangerous experience makes them resolve to leave their 'fantastic Micronesia' in the opposite direction. Fuyuki decides to live in Bikini together with his new girlfriend Collins, an American white woman, to ascertain with their own bodies the truth of a US report that the radioactive level has lowered enough. Mori, half broken-hearted, leaves for Tokyo.

Describing Micronesia's protest for these Japanese people's complacent desires, Tanaka's text asserts the importance of islanders' viewpoints. Fuyuki both desires romantic 'south islands' healing their grief and enabling him to start his new life and cautions himself against such romanticism, admonishing himself that 'however deeply I love the nature of Palau, it's just an outsider's longing' (Tanaka 21). Having a dream of possessing an isle in Palau, he reflects that the dream is 'egoistic' – 'it must be kept in mind that people live' in the Pacific islands (21) – 'there is no "new frontier" in Micronesia. I am here in an others', different people's country' (97) – 'the Japanese are not always popular among Palauan people' (85). These points, indicating of there being both aspects of Dankichi (advance) and Godzilla (brake) in him, epitomise major generation shifts in this text. In this self-reflective realism using romantic tropes, *The Small Islands of God* is like Somerset Maugham's 'Red' and Takashi Kubo's 'Public School', although Maugham's story is more sarcastic and Kubo's, more lukewarm.

Nevertheless, unlike those texts, *The Small Islands of God* does not indicate islanders' outlook: the islands are as mysterious, divine and awful as is very Godzilla. Tanaka's 'mysterious Nanyo' is also different from Atsushi Nakajima's 'incomprehensible Nanyo' in that the latter's text highlights

Micronesian characters. Despite aforementioned introspection and humanitarian awareness, *The Small Islands of God* depicts Micronesians either as unfavourable parts of landscape (rapists, a wavy-haired young man with full lips and the wide wings of the nose, corpulent women, men watching a pornographic film at a theatre, and so forth) or as favourably domesticated – well Japanised or Americanised – characters (a Japanese-speaking guide with his Japanese name who longs for Japan's ruling period, the intelligent, sophisticated Japanese-Palauan Vice-President and Fuyuki's friend, and a human rights activist). The emphasis on bodies and sex and lacking individuality continue a colonialist trope, although there is now more variety of characterisation in conformity with the complexity of a postwar world. Nevertheless, in keeping with Said's idea of discursive nonagonist for overall domination, it is clear that these Micronesians evoke, as a whole, both negative images of 'Micronesian-ness' as 'others' and affirmative images of 'Japaneseness' as 'self'.²

Japanese consciousness of power relations among Japan, Micronesia and the US can be found in the book's depiction of sexual liaisons. Micronesian men rape a Japanese tourist girl: a Japanese colonialist fear of Micronesia's counterattack. The text avoids offsetting this self-punishment by reproducing a typical colonialist desirable romance – transracial love of Japanese men and Micronesian women. On the other hand, the text writes back against traditional Western Orientalist fantasies of the victimised Oriental. This anti-Western colonialism re-appears in *shosetsu* for the first time since it was seen in wartime writings. In *The Small Islands of God*, Mori sleeps with a white American man not because of love or admiration but to vent her anger on Fuyuki for turning her down – this shows Japan as the atypical colonised to the US. Fuyuki has relations with Collins – a desire of the colonised to strike back. The combination of 'striking back' to the West with 'being struck back' by Micronesia is a significant trait of works that will be examined in this chapter, a trait seen also in Nakajima's stories although his blame of Japanese imperialism is less direct.

On the whole of Tanaka's book, however, its 'writing back' recedes into the

background. This reveals Japanese inevitable reliance on imperial culture that they attempt to resist, also as in prewar Japanese texts. The Japanese characters often take passive attitudes towards Americans, dependent heavily on and inferior to the latter. It is not Mori but the American man that offers such a passing relation.³ At the critical moment in the aforementioned dive, an American diver delivers her, in marked contrast to Fuyuki unable to save Shinmyo. Indeed, the book allows criticism of the US policy towards Micronesians as 'hypocritical' and 'deceitful', calling it a 'zoo policy' using the people as 'guinea pigs' for nuclear testing. Yet the text passes the strictures only through Collins' words. In order to 'punish' herself for taking the US government's remarks on faith the Peace Corps volunteer visits remote corners of Micronesia to assimilate herself. She leads Fuyuki in to going native and convinces him that he should identify himself not with his imaginary ideal islands but with the real ones: the conclusive message of the text. The Japanese characters are lacking 'self', at the mercy of Micronesia and America.

Natsuki Ikezawa's *Natsu no Asa no Seisoken* (The Stratosphere on a Summer Morning, 1984) is a story in which the Japanese protagonist Yasushi Kimura living in contemporary Micronesia writes of his experience since he fell carelessly out of a tuna fishing boat. The text uses a typical plot of South Sea romance and at the same time the story is also modelled after the course of postwar Japanese history – drifting and survival on a desert island (equivalent to Japan thrown into confusion immediately after World War Two), relief by a white American movie star, Myron (Japan's rehabilitation with the aid of the US), and transracial love with a young American white woman Miranda (prosperity under high growth of the economy fretting the US).

Yet the text challenges stereotyped adventure stories by putting the matter of 'writing an adventure story' in question, depicting the Japanese protagonist's personality and identity not as fixed but as ever changing. Unlike most of the protagonists in Western and Japanese South Sea writings, Kimura is not misanthropic nor in a slump of business or artistic production, neither hating urban civilisation nor admiring Nanyo especially, though he tends somewhat

towards escapism. The text sets four phases of the protagonist: that is, the first-person narrator and character, a writer of his experience in Micronesia, and a third-person character in the memoirs. He uses 'he' instead of 'I' in his memoirs because he has 'a fear of writing of [him]self. What has been written is irreparable. Writing is delivering judgement and executing a sentence' (Ikezawa 1984, 236). The title of this text, 'the stratosphere on a summer morning', is the expression of his impression of his life in the Marshalls, but by the relativising of writing, the text resists monolithic representation. This thirty-something journalist, Crusoe-like⁴ featureless average Japanese man, represents the postwar Japanese, who have lost and are seeking 'self', looking back their national history with a sense of estrangement from the prewar Japan.

The Japanese protagonist is emblematic of Japanese ambivalence to America. No member of the boat's crew notices Kimura's fall in the midst of the Pacific, and he drifts to an uninhabited island in the Marshall Islands and is obliged to live a food-gathering life for seventy-five days with no expectation that he might be rescued. But one day he swims to a neighbouring island and runs across Myron, who has been living there to overcome his morbid dependence on alcohol. And then, he meets Myron's friends (including Miranda), who have gone there to bring the actor back home. Through his contact with them, Kimura returns gradually to a civilised life. In the end, even after they go back to the US, he remains there alone, but he promises them to record his experience and to contact Myron by a radiotelegraph which Myron has left, if he makes up his mind to leave the island.

So on the whole, it can be said, American characters play a role of reliever and instructor in the book, like the aforementioned text *The Small Islands of God*. What Kimura, a contemporary castaway, fears is not encountering 'cannibals' (66) but contamination with radioactivity. He can remove this anxiety when discovering Myron's hut. It is not until he meets the American that he gives his name in the text, and he can learn from Myron exactly where they are on world maps. The encounter with the American, which means that the Japanese castaway has developed the ability to leave the island, makes him

aware of changes in his identity. He is gradually re-civilised by using Myron's utensils, reading books the American has brought, and explaining to him what he has been and is, culminating in re-identifying himself as 'Kimura', a person on the side of 'civilisation'. Kimura reads especially an anthropological book on a Marshallese island, which, for him, does 'not take him out of the island' and 'tempts him deeper and deeper into life on the island' (80). He rejects romantic books such as mysteries and classics because 'the reality of the island seized his mind far more strongly and dazzlingly than faded representations in those books' (80). (This rejection is a contrast to the conventional attitudes of white characters in Western colonial romance to prefer to read those kinds of books during their island lives, e.g. Ropati in Robert Dean Frisbie's *The Book of Puka-Puka*. It is also resonant, to some extent, with the ruin of white well-read characters in colonial realist stories such as Maugham's 'Mackintosh' and the mortification of the Japanese protagonist of Atsushi Nakajima's 'Mahiru' [Noontime], who deplores his inability to dismiss romantic Pacific images represented by Western artists and writers.) Nevertheless, despite this realism or nativism his preference of the anthropological book indicates that the Japanese 'islander' is not divorced from Orientalism. The more he reads the book, the less he can look at the island from the viewpoint of the islanders. He shifts from an 'inhabitant' on the island into its 'observer'.

Ikezawa's book represents the Japanese character's resistance to American characters' (though kind) civilising power even more clearly than Tanaka's work, although this resistance cannot also help being imperfect. The book shows refusal to accept all-out Americanisation. Kimura attempts not to be too close to Myron, an American Hollywood star – a symbol of American cultural imperialism – claiming that he is more indigenised than is Myron who has some provisions and utensils from his country. Kimura gives himself a nickname, Yashi, which is not only an abbreviation for his first name 'Yasushi' but also is 'coconut palm' in English. However, such resistance is not backed up through a deep-seated sense of 'self' involved positively with 'here and now'. He is inclined to continue his primitive life, in which he finds 'true happiness':

The situation in which we have so many things to do and we must move about under the pressure of momentary necessity, and the time that is filled with so many actions that we cannot find time to hesitate or stop – this might be the way to happiness. Now I think so, though I could not afford to do so at the time. (106)

Only after having a foothold for survival, can Kimura long for his hard time, regarding it as his 'past', like some Japanese intellectuals worrying about their current overmature civilisation. He does not live in Myron's hut but in a former islander's shack. Kimura is also still on the island in the end of the story, unable to make up his mind, despite his promise with Myron to leave the island after writing up his experience. The text does not say whether he will stay or leave.

In addition, the text depicts the American characters' anxieties and American colonialist fears from a viewpoint of the colonised Japanese. Myron can succeed in overcoming his alcoholism and trauma caused by his daughter's suicide – he represents both glory and darkness of US civilisation – only by watching Kimura's solitary primitive life on the island before the latter notices his presence. (This corresponds to the actual interdependence of Japan's 'pacifism' and economic advance and The US's military power and maintenance of it in the Far East and Pacific.) For Miranda (the same name of *The Tempest's* heroine) Yashi is an 'aboriginal' islander like Caliban. Miranda confides in this 'native', confessing her secret – a chronic nightmare of intestines coming out of her inside – to him and having sexual relations with him (which Prospero, Miranda's father and Caliban's master, was most afraid of in Shakespeare's play).

Ikezawa's work does not have any indigenous characters. This enables Kimura to be a 'native' in the text. But his island is still a 'testing ground' for the moral improvement, and he 'feels' the existence of 'spirits' of the former islanders. On the island he oscillates between 'Japanese' and 'Micronesian'. The island, on which he has to single-mindedly collect food (coconuts and bananas) in despair, is far from 'a South Sea paradise with various kinds of much fresh

fruit' (50). 'The tropical harsh magic' rebuilds his personality (56). As he becomes used to the environment, he feels anxious about 'intruding into the others' place' (66). Yet he names the island and its neighbouring islands, and comes to feel happy with his metamorphosis into an islander and with his seemingly permanent life on the islands although, contradictorily, he hopes to return to Japan. Kimura acquires a moderate sense of release from the society and system that he has depended on – going almost 'native' without completely losing his national identity – the sense which Western and Japanese colonial romantic writers have almost always been craving for. Unlike them, however, the protagonist is compelled to adopt a native mode of living against his will, and he is so honest as to be aware of his innocent activities as aggressive, although feeling little sense of responsibility because of its inevitable accident.

The book, like Tanaka's work, portrays the Japanese character awe-struck by Micronesia. In doing so it circumvents a conventional Japanese colonialist trope of Micronesia as a familiarised other. Yashi fears invisible 'spirits' of the islands, which he can ambiguously perceive as 'beings more akin to the islands than human beings' (85). He learns from Myron that the US administration has forced the islanders to evacuate from the island for its test-firing of missiles. According to Myron, as the result, most of them have got used to money economy in urban life and renounced their home island, and four islanders who attempted to go back home have disappeared mysteriously. Given their outline, he has in him the awful, respectable 'spirits' unite with the real wretched natives. The spirits, Kimura feels, complain to him about the islanders' disappearance, and he believes that the spirits do not speak to Myron. He once defined himself as similar to the islanders but now does as different, although not so different as the American.

The text's critical distinction from *The Small Islands of God* is not only its depiction of more active resistance to Japanese deep political and cultural dependence on new American imperial power but also its attempt to take local views into consideration, although, problematically, local views are not represented themselves. In *The Stratosphere on a Summer Morning* it is not so

much the American characters and American culture as the Pacific islands that cause the Japanese protagonist to feel incongruous to the social and cultural systems which he has been familiar with before. Kimura fails to be an islander but considers that Myron does not experience his intense 'illogical' feeling for the island (just as the native heathen Williams objects to Ropati's 'rational' interpretation of local fables in Frisbie's *Puka-Puka*). For the Japanese islander, Myron is 'unable to go a step further from the commonplace urban and civilisation theories' (164), with which Myron explains the islanders' renunciation of their island, not ascribing their disappearance to the US military and dollar power. Kimura is not only 'cleaving to/from' American culture but also conscious of the doubleness by (mis)appropriating islanders' views, objectifying this fact and consciousness through the act of writing the third-person narrative in the text.⁵ So the text depicts a new type of anti/colonialist, or a postcolonial coloniser colonised, that is inherited by the texts mentioned later on.

Man Arai's novel 'Sansetto Bichi Hoteru' (The Sunset Beach Hotel, 1986) depicts the death of 'the last Paradise', a theme having been long since written in Western colonial fantasies. The text is a postmodern Japanese version of Melville's criticism of modern civilisation, including a Maugham-style anti-romantic plot. Again, there is a move towards 'postcolonial' critique: the centrality of the visiting ex-colonial self shackled by an Orientalist discourse typical of earlier writing.

A thirty-five-year-old 'video writer', Sakuragi, more fond of nature than of people, visits Majuro, the Marshall Islands, commissioned to make a film of beautiful nature by a travel agency. The text is marked with the change of this typical South Sea visitor's formulaic Pacific views through his negotiations with Micronesian characters – neither with Americans nor invisible Micronesian 'spirits'. Images of 'run-down space' (the car lacking a door sent to meet him at the airport from the Sunset Beach Hotel, a log cabin 'on the verge of ruin'; indolent and spiritless islanders) and 'paradise' (a beautiful uninhabited island on which he makes a film entitled 'Robinson Crusoe's Island')⁶ are juxtaposed.

Both a prewar idyllic picture (a good-Japanese-speaking little islander girl reminding the Japanese of the prewar textbook article 'Trakku-to Dayori' [A Letter from Truk]) and a postwar miserable portrait (her mother afflicted with radiation sickness with her days numbered, suggesting the 1954 incident of the *Daigo Fukuryu Maru* to Sakuragi) are represented. His growth in awareness – his realisation of 'realities' of 'the last Paradise' as a US nuclear test site and a 'garbage dump' for 'space waste' disposal – gives an ironic point to the story's ending. While filming an uninhabited island, he and his Marshallese assistant man are killed by the fall of an artificial satellite. Here we see a continuation of the concerns fuelling *Godzilla*. The ironic fate of Sakuragi indicates a radical change in dismissing the prewar dream of the perfect Robinsonian retreat as depicted in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*.

Sakuragi is also a postcolonial coloniser colonised. He is the same victim of falling 'space waste' (an agent of civilisation, so to speak) as the Marshallese young man, who only speaks Marshallese, playing a nonspeaking part in the story – neither Japanised nor Americanised deeply. Yet the text depicts differently the way the two are killed in the accident: whereas the Marshallese man dies a miserable and ugly instant death, the Japanese man is being submerged with his coolness kept as if deriding his own death. The latter's death is of his own making, as it were, while the former is an innocent pawn in the game of modern history.

An interesting point is that Sakuragi's new understanding allows him to see the islands not just as Robinsonian escape to the end of the world but in terms of indigenous culture. The text adopts the local traditional way of viewing Majuro as 'the navel of the world' (46), which counters the Japanese view of it as 'the ends of the Pacific'.

Nobuhiko Kobayashi's novel *Sekai de Ichiban Atsui Shima* (The Hottest Island in the World, 1991) also has the orthodox narrative framework of Pacific romance – captivity and evasion, adventure and love – articulating some colonial ambivalence. But written under the conditions of reorganisation of the world system and globalisation of American culture in the wake of the closing

Cold War, the story no longer focuses on criticism of US military and cultural imperialism. Instead, it lays emphasis on self-criticism, reconsidering contemporary views of modern Japanese post/colonial history. The text does so by setting its stage on Kolonia, a fictitious Micronesian 'microstate' (modelled on the Republic of Palau), where the Japanese protagonist, Noguchi, about forty, is an over seven years resident. So like Louis Becke's and Jack London's South Sea stories, *The Hottest Island in the World* depicts a state of syncretic (postcolonial) affairs, not stressing colonial encounters as aforementioned 1980s' Japanese texts.

American culture, far more than Japanese traditional culture, permeates and enriches the 'body and soul' of Noguchi, who has been born and raised in Roppongi ('a base town'), Tokyo, and has received American democratic education (Nobuhiko Kobayashi 94). To this deeply Americanised Japanese, the actual world of postwar Japan seems to remain unchanged and to be too oppressive. He is not an anti-imperial nationalist asserting more modernisation or seeking to preserve and restore indigeneity. Although regarding himself as a 'mental refugee' from Japan's traditional social system (117), Noguchi is aware that his escapist living made by managing a resort hotel depends on ill-mannered Japanese tourists backed by Japan's economic power. His 'mental exile' is not understandable either to his American friend, Pearson, or to the Kolonians. The former only can imagine political and economic exile. The latter simply-mindedly can think that Japanese people are not fond of the US because of its former occupation and the present economic conflicts. The text suggests that no matter how he may escape from such present-day Japan he is inevitably identified with it.

The Japanese protagonist cannot separate himself from 'past' Japan also. He is brought back to it through the Japanese visitor Kakizaki, a survivor of the Pacific War. For Noguchi, Kakizaki, who boasts of his war memories, is a representative of detestable patriarchal Japan. Moreover, the old Japanese man makes Noguchi reluctantly involved in Kolonia's political disturbance and squarely face the fact that it is deeply related to both Japan's new and old

imperial power. Noguchi's mental friction that he has experienced in Japan parallels the social and political friction in Kolonia, both of which compel him to flee these countries. The text brings into sharp relief both Japan and Kolonia as former US-occupied nations and colonial mimics, though the latter as still in the process of Americanisation while the former as already mis-Americanised.

Entering Kolonia with a forged passport, Kakizaki approaches the President of Kolonia with an irresponsible offer of a tourist project. This strategy of Kakizaki – living on tourism, Japan's new imperial power that he abhors – is common with Noguchi and Kolonian people. Kolonia is in a dangerous situation of the conflict between the reformers (the terrorist government) and defenders (the people) of its antinuclear constitution after the model of that of Japan. The situation is caused by its political change ignited by the assassination of the Vice-President (a Japanese-Kolonian), a defender of the constitution. The people reject doing the US's bidding because of their national pride. But on the other, they know that the financial aid by the US in the form of a recompense for their offering a military base is indispensable to maintaining their political independence. Lopez, the Vice-President for the next term, uses the Secret Police, who attempt to murder Noguchi for giving shelter to Kakizaki, an illegal entrant and 'Nanyo broker' under suspicion of the assassination.

'America' plays a role of enlightening and protecting the Japanese protagonist in this text, too, as in Tanaka's and Ikezawa's texts. Pearson informs him of the economic crisis of Soviet Russia, which he is unable to believe because the Japanese have been sure that Soviet Russia leads the world together with the US. In short, Pearson shakes Noguchi's world outlook. He saves Noguchi's life when the Kolonian secret police are about to kill him, and helps him escape from Kolonia. In the end Noguchi re-emigrates to Honolulu, where he can live a safe life, appointed the manager of a resort hotel again, though in slight despair for losing his 'paradise' in Kolonia. The US itself is not always given a positive image in this text. Yet for the mediocre 'dropped-out' Japanese, there is no alternative but to reside in the Pacific, the place both farthest from metropolitan centres and in the shadow of the (US and Japanese) double imperial powers.

Noguchi is different from Stevenson, Gauguin and Frisbie in that these Western escapists did not need to be confronted with such double contradictions. He is also unlike Nakajima, who challenged both Western and Japanese colonial representations consciously.

However, Noguchi, who is marginalised in Japan, marginalises 'uncivilised' Japanese and Kolonian subjects himself. In the text, these people instead of the protagonist counterattack the 'centres' – the local political authority and the protagonist, both of them despising or exploiting them differently – by adopting Japanese ex- and neo-colonialist spirits alike. Noguchi 'loves' Kolonia but he is aware that (like Kakizaki whom he regards as an 'enigmatic clown' [272]) he also 'discriminates' against Kolonian people 'somewhere in his mind' (109). (This is a reverse pattern of Maugham's 'Mackintosh' in which a young new well-educated colonial administrator derides and hates his veteran uncivilised boss who acknowledges himself to 'love' natives.) Noguchi gives Kolonian people essentialist definitions as 'cunning', 'argumentative', 'hot-blooded', 'having no definite opinion of their own', and 'playing their cards right to live' (63, 129). He is having an affair with the Kolonian President's Japanese wife, Kyoko, who does not respect her husband, the head of state. He also plays a stereotyped colonialist part of delivering a beautiful Japanese girl, Imai, a schoolteacher in Kolonia (like a good native) from native robbers (bad savages), and having transient relations with her.

Maugham's 'Mackintosh' depicts a satirical unexpected counter of an old to a young European and of the colonised to the colonisers. Kobayashi's book also shows that in the complex mixture of decolonising society, all is not what it seems. Kakizaki treats Noguchi's native men tenderly and overbearingly, which calls to Noguchi's mind the wartime Japanese coloniser's treatment of Micronesians. Noguchi, bored with Kakizaki's bragging about his war memories, finds that the former returned soldier deals with them on equal terms while Noguchi himself has regarded the native employees as mere tools for hotel work. They respect Kakizaki who teaches them *tokon*, Japanese warriors' fighting spirit, and so does even Alfonso, the most able, self-possessed of them, desiring

that his nation be a democratic country thriving economically 'like Japan' (275-276). That such Japanese colonialist spirits, taking on the character of anti-Western colonialism, are acceptable to those politically decolonised people, shows a contradiction of postcolonial projects in Micronesia and a nostalgic expression of longing for defiant Japanese common people, who now are no longer so.

Noguchi has a statue of Imai's torso made by Sunohara, an old Japanese sculptor, who calls himself the second apprentice of Hisakatsu Hijikata, a former retained folklorist and artist of the Nanyo-cho (South Sea Government). Although unlike Kakizaki, Sunohara is reliable to Noguchi, he is also an agency of old colonialist Japan for the protagonist. The statue of torso (it is the emblem of the 'paradisaal' Pacific for him and his partiality for the statue without the upper and the lower part of the body is depicted as an attribute of his quaint 'self' under an identity crisis) is demolished and miniaturised by more outlying people and absorbed by imperial centres. The statue is broken in the bustle of the coup, and Sunohara reproduces its smaller-sized images as souvenir goods for his livelihood to meet Japanese tourists' exoticism (ironically the Japanese female body is used for Japanese Orientalism).

Kyoko, the President's wife and Noguchi's lover, is a postcolonial Japanese woman making use of but independent of political, economic, patriarchal authorities. When the uprising fails but destabilises such authorities, she has another affair with a native survivor, Alfonso. She makes Noguchi and his 'discreet servant' Alfonso equal as her lovers. Fernando, one of Noguchi's native subordinates, seeming to be imbecile to him, turns out to be even more competent than Alfonso when Fernando takes the leadership of the guerrilla band with the aid of Kakizaki. Discovering through Kakizaki that Fernando has pretended not to be able to speak Japanese well, Noguchi supposes that unexpectedly Fernando, instead of Lopez, has assassinated the Japanese-Kolonian Vice-President receiving strong public support, to carry out the coup. Fernando is significant to the plot of this story, but in the text he is neglected until Kakizaki finds his ability. Fernando dies, without speaking a word in the

story, together with Kakizaki. In the text, it is this native Fernando (a mixture of Nakajima's native characters – 'inscrutable others' such as Napoleon and the well-educated elite Mariyan) who is really 'enigmatic' and who outwits imperial metonymic power – the Kolonian government, the Japanese protagonist, and the Japanese reader.

In the contemporary Japanese texts that have been seen so far, Micronesia refuses Japanese characters' romantic projections into Micronesia such as 'noble savages', 'the last paradise', and 'the spirits of Japanese dead soldiers'. And it brings those characters to death or some predicaments.⁷ The recent works criticise the Japanese colonialist ideology of 'sameness', representing Micronesia and its people as rejecting thorough assimilation. On the other hand, Micronesia remains a space for adventure and love and a place connected with the Japanese historically, culturally, genealogically, or genetically.⁸ The texts unwittingly show Japanese writers' difficulties in depicting the '(distant) other' who withstands the conventional colonialist depiction of the 'close other'. In Kobayashi's text, Fernando's and Kakizaki's violent resistance is frustrated (like Godzilla) by the local government's stronger violence. Likewise, the text's opposition to colonialist romance is partial. The narrative framework remains imbued with Nanyo-Orientalism – showing a double ambiguity of reliance on and opposition to the West on the one hand, and of fear and pity of Micronesia on the other.

Island collective consciousness as resistant Other

Such a limitation is ameliorated in Ikezawa's *Mashiasu Giri no Shikkyaku* (The Downfall of Macías Gilly, 1993). It depicts the prosperity and downfall of the eponymous Micronesian protagonist, the President of the Republic of Navidad, a fictitious island nation in contemporary Micronesia. Gilly is establishing a dictatorship through his diplomatic skills and his handling of the minds of the people – both are indispensable to maintain the independence of the small country under the pressure of superpowers, the US and Japan, without

becoming their puppet. The Japanese desires and fears expressed through Godzilla are transposed in the text's depiction of the head of a Pacific community as an adroit, powerful leader. This kind of chieftain was hardly to be seen in Western and Japanese South Sea fiction since the noble savage Mehevi in Melville's *Typee* and the cannibal chief Tararo in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*. After Tararo was domesticated through his conversion to Christianity in Ballantyne's text, Pacific chieftains had often been portrayed as dull and tamed in, for example, Stevenson's 'The Beach of Falesá', Maugham's 'Mackintosh', Nakajima's 'Napoleon', and Kobayashi's *The Hottest Island in the World*.

Gilly is a case in point of the over-civilised (Japanised) nationalist, counterattacking his ex-coloniser Japanese. In the text, President Gilly, a post/colonial 'mimic man', as well as Japanese characters, agents for neo- and ex-colonial power, is not depicted as an absolute authority with no weakness, although he is superior to them. Characters such as a native girl, ugly Oriental women, white homosexuals (the narrators), the indigenous common people, a ghost, and a bus (not a train or a plane) – all beings exploited or marginalised in modern scientific colonial discourses – destabilises the protagonist's political superpower. As will be explained below, the text devices strategies to fragment the central plot of romance. So the text as a whole plays a role of collective local intelligence beyond individuals to intervene in hegemonic centres such as pre- and postwar Japanese imperialism, and Euro-American cultural imperialism: the menace of Godzilla is equipped as multifold in the text. The double ambivalence in Nanyo-Orientalism towards the 'West' and the 'South Seas' is seen but transformed. The text, as well as Atsushi Nakajima's texts, subverts (rather than inverts) colonialist discourses by representing Pacific cultural blending. Yet as opposed to the wartime pieces depicting 'hybridity' as pitiable, Ikezawa's text positively valorises colonial 'hybridity', asserting that 'the blending of different cultures makes the culture more dense and powerful' (Ikezawa 1993, 92). This is also Masao Miyoshi's argument on contemporary power and culture relations between Japan and the US. Miyoshi insists that the Japanese will need to 'break out of the myth of homogeneity and harmony': 'The

interracial diversity of the United States, frequently derided by Japanese officials and businessmen, will yet someday prove to be a source of its strength' (242).

Born an orphan in Japanese-owned Navidad, Gilly is convinced that his father is a Japanese rapist of his mother, an indigenous woman. He believes so only because he as a child has found in his dead mother's relics a card on which a Japanese male name is written. Imagining that, (like Kipling's Kim) he has been able to regard himself as an emblem of colonised Navidad and as related by blood to 'the superior Japanese' (87). He has served the Japanese Navy as a servant boy, and has received his education from his Japanese patron. Young Gilly has learned from him that the islanders and the Japanese are all equal before the Emperor. After World War Two, he has visited Japan, pursuing the patron. In Japan he studied at school and learned the trick of business. After returning to Navidad, he has made his mark in business (selling precooked Chinese noodles) and the then President, attempting to establish close ties with Japan, has discovered Gilly's talent, who has been well versed in things Japanese. President Gilly still lives his private life in Japanese style (taking a Japanese bath and having rice, *misoshiru*, and *sashimi* every morning) and speaks Japanese like a native speaker. He has much stronger Japanism than the Japanese themselves does.

Thus Gilly is a character who sarcastically specifies the conventional Japanese colonialist view of Micronesians as 'close others' (different but similar) to the Japanese, from a Micronesian viewpoint. Although President Gilly loves Japanese traditional spirit and culture, he looks at Japan with a critical eye: Japan has not still compensated Micronesians for its prewar occupation and forced labour in wartime, only paying some money as its 'well-intentioned' aid (24); Japanese old men who have been to Navidad to console the souls of the war dead glorify their past and condemn current Japanese culture of the youth, forgetting that they have once had young Gilly at their beck and call; Japan is 'ashamed of its own big power', and is 'anxious to believe itself to be a compact little country with unity, ignoring all its outsiders' (58). The text thus invokes a

matter of controversy among Japanese and US politicians, scholars and businesspeople since the 1980s called 'Japan/America bashing' over Japanese 'innocuous-sounding statements' for constructing 'an exclusivist myth of Japanese culture, changeless and pure' (Miyoshi 88). Gilly is a competent controversialist enough to confute an able Japanese businessman, Suzuki, although Gilly subscribes to the plan that Suzuki has brought to build an oil stockpiling base in the territory of Navidad. Informed from a pro-Micronesian Japanese betrayer that Japan is secretly contemplating to change the base into a base for the Self-Defense Forces in the future, Gilly is displeased not with the contemplation itself but with the fact that Japanese government does not disclose the secret to Gilly who loves Japanese culture so much. He is not simply a 'Japan basher' or a Japanophile but has a poignant view to postwar Japan from a vantage point of the 'close other'.

The text rewrites with humour and irony conventional colonial plots and discourses by using not only such enigmatic elements but also stereotypes. The above-mentioned group of Japanese old men, arriving in Navidad immediately after somebody has destroyed a *torii* (a gateway at the entrance to a *Shinto* shrine), is a parody of the former Japanese colonialist. Navidad welcomes the group at the airport on a large scale. Native girls sing *Kimigayo* (the Japanese national anthem) in front of them, their song not bearing the slightest resemblance to the original anthem. This episode serves as a satire of 'Torakku-to Dayori' (A Letter from Truk), an influential prewar teaching piece for schoolchildren, which describes a little native girl as a good singer of *Kimigayo*. A delegation (a former Captain) of the group delivers a speech that looks back to Japan's occupation of Micronesia since World War One. His nostalgia is described by the text as 'an appalling affair' reflecting his mind 'unaffected by the change of the times' (35). During the long speech in a burning sun, the old men break down one after another, and a Rising-Sun flag that has been hoisted goes up in flames suddenly. After that, a bus that the group is on disappears. These consecutive strange incidents, the cause of which is not disclosed in the text, injure his prestige.

However, the Japanese do not escape criticism. Suzuki, a 'bureaucratic' 'corporation-like' businessman (40), is defeated by Gilly, a more competent debater. Katsumata is another Japanese stereotype, a *yakuza* (gangster), the commander of the regiment of military policeman that Gilly has established. But Katsumata always wears sunglasses to camouflage his narrow and downward slanting eyes which 'provoke the laughter of whoever sees them' (20). When Gilly falls from power, Katsumata also loses his position, and old native women hit the former gangster and commander on the head, scolding and scaring him in Japanese, the language that, they say, 'you [the Japanese] forced us as children to learn' (456).

Navidad, now fairly civilised as a result of Gilly's work, still has its own (and the world's) 'last paradise' within itself, remaining to be visited by outsiders like 'Crusoe' or 'Dankichi'. Navidad is composed of three main islands and many other small isolated ones. The adjoining two of the three main islands, Baltasar and Gaspar, are the political and economic centres of Navidad, and the other one, Melchor, is its 'spiritual' centre, a poorer island with a smaller population than the main twin islands, having little connection with the outside world. It is so mysterious as not to be drawn on a map contained in the text, only saying that it is about three hundred kilometres south of the two. On the twin islands it is said to produce many beautiful women and the islanders of Melchor are believed to have qualities of spiritual leadership. Such a representation of Navidad both as mystic and modernised overlaps multifaceted images of Godzilla that symbolises something being born and a new age. With regard to the idea of Pacific spirituality, Stevenson and Maugham depict 'savage superstitions' in their 'Falesá' and 'Honolulu' respectively and Jack London portrays it as hostility to European missions in 'The Whale Tooth'. Characteristically, Ikezawa uses not only the idea of spirituality in the Pacific but also Christianity as a point from which to critique established Japanese values. (Those islands' names are Christian, coming from Three Wise Men, Balthazar, Caspar, and Melchior.) However, unlike Bali-ha'i in *South Pacific*, for example, Merchor is not passive or powerless but exerts (like Godzilla) a great

influence and threat on urban political authority. When senior conference members of Melchor decide that they no longer respect President Gilly because they find out that he has employed two European homosexuals to assassinate the pro-American former President, he loses his dignity as president.

Gilly has a close relationship with Melchor. His mother is from Melchor, which he makes the best use of to obtain his presidential position. He appoints Emeliana, a mystic Melchorean girl capable of foreseeing, to his close adviser. She is one of spiritualistic mediums in Melchor and has 'an archetypal face of woman', the picture of a girl wearing a hibiscus in her wavy fixed hair in a painting (215). Her real name is not revealed in the text: 'Emeliana' is the name of Gilly's dead mother, which he gives to the young prophetess. This prototypic South Sea beauty is, however, an agent whom senior conference members of Melchor has sent to find out the truth of the affair of Gilly's assassination of the former President. (The text does not describe how they know of the affair.) Gilly ends his life by leaping from a plane into a forest on Melchor. Melchor is both his origin and end, both Mother and Death. Gilly participates in the festival on Melchor held every eight years, which transforms him from the exhausted President into a 'happy' nameless native (349). After that, young Emeliana is pregnant by him. Melchor also emblematises rebirth.

The text depicts an interracial couple as is often seen in colonial fantasy, but it is an exceptional couple in colonialist and Orientalist discourses. The couple – young Gilly and a Japanese woman, Tsuneko – is the reverse pattern of traditional colonial romance, transracial love of male coloniser and female colonised. Such arrangements were rarely taken place in Japanese-owned Micronesia (Peattie 219). Gilly in his youth takes the Japanese mistress during his stay in Japan. She devotes herself to him and protects him. Tsuneko is a middle-aged, plain woman of firm character, far from a typical miserable Oriental beauty as in *Madame Butterfly*. The non-European men, like Gilly, from poverty-stricken regions are an exception of the foreign men in Japan, who look upon Japanese women as 'erotic Orientals' (Kelsky 177). He is a native from a country which he himself expresses by a phrase of the prewar Japanese

popular song *Shucho no Musume* (The Daughter of the Village Chief): 'My sweetheart is the daughter of a village chief' (502). Her devotion to her lover (he has a liking for but does not love her) reminds the reader of colonialist fear of degrading hybridisation which has often been expressed in colonial discourses (Loomba 164). However, they do not have a child after all. Her words that he is a man with a low sperm count make him feel an inferiority complex. Such a seesaw game of the female coloniser and the male colonised continues even after they part. Tsuneko's younger sister, Itsuko, as plain as her elder sister, comes to Navidad with Gilly and serves him as a faithful maid. But she helps Emeliana find the documentary evidence of his assassination hidden under a *tatami* mat, the evidence bringing about his downfall.

In this main story of the text, the oppressed strike back to the oppressors through intellect, unlike anti-imperialist white characters such as Stevenson's Wiltshire who murders his rival trader or other brown ones such as Kobayashi's Fernando who leads a coup (but in vain). In Ikezawa's text the oppressed do not seek any power to subvert the oppressors, except Gilly, an ex-colonised person, who uses violence to acquire a political power and culminates in failure because of collective intellect of the people. Such a central narrative of the decolonised Micronesia of the text includes commentary on the geography, history, and ethnicity of Navidad, commentary which assists the central story's intellectual resistance. To cite a few instances:

The Spanish informed [the native people] of the existence of Heaven, and Germans showed them how large the world was (and of course it was the Japanese and US Forces that let them know what a hell on earth was like). (70)

The Spanish and Germans did not intend to live in their colonies although they attempted to enlighten or manage them. But the next comers, the Japanese, crowded into Japan's colonies and settled in them, showing no sign of ruling as a master over the native peoples, as if the colonisers were not aware that the peoples live in those places. (83)

Those who attend this festival [of Melchor] by taking an interpretative – flimsily pragmatic – attitude [as anthropologists do] would be embarrassed to lose sight of the sense in people's gathering here, of the absolute authority of great spiritualistic mediums [...]. [Melchor] has holiness far beyond the level of interpretation, or a unified collective will transcending interpretative abilities of individual minds. (336-337)

[...] in such a kind of praise [as thinking highly of the art of navigation of Micronesian people] there is something subtly scornful that the uncivilised savages once did what people do today. (445)

The critical and ironic qualities of these quotations position the story as a postcolonially aware text and allow us to see some of its own colonialist romance as conscious ironic play. Moreover, only in the end of the story, the text overthrows the centrality of omniscient narrative by showing that two European characters, homosexual killer men employed by Gilly, are the narrators of the story.

The text also challenges its own centralisation by fragmenting its plot. Besides the central narrative, the text includes four other key narratives. The dialogical narrative of the people at the public square satirically shows the political, social situations of Navidad from the popular viewpoints. As soon as they meet at the public square in front of a cooperative store market, they, usually 'benighted' and 'obedient' islanders (81), change into 'first-class critics who are capable of collecting extensive information and making a close analysis and a synthetic judgement' (73). Their collective wisdom is a potential menace to President Gilly, of which he is unaware.

In another narrative about the aforementioned bus that disappears with the old Japanese on board (eleven pieces of 'Bus Report'), the bus flies, shrinks to a banana size, and so forth. When the bus finally reappears at the public square, the old men are 'restored to youth' and line up in 'a South-Sea-like,

developing-country-like, unmilitary, relaxed way', seeming to 'completely get used to the atmosphere in this country' (461).

Further, the text has a local fable of Melchor, which deals with 'real intelligence' unlike American films with 'repetitive, only stimulative, and coarse contents' (167). It functions in the text quite differently from the interpolated island stories in Stevenson's 'Falesá' or Frisbie's *Puka-Puka* in which they make the texts exotic and slightly influence the white protagonists' views. In the fable of Ikezawa's text a native 'wise girl' and her seven younger brothers kill a 'covetous' monstrous fish nibbling at their island. This tale allegorises not only anti-/colonial historical discourse (like Nakajima's 'Kofuku [Happiness]' and 'Fufu [A Married Couple]') but also the central narrative of the text concerning Gilly and Emeliana who ruins him with the assistance of her three younger brothers and four cousins. The giant fish dies with gratitude to the 'wise girl' for killing it without giving it a fright. Likewise, Gilly dies in peace after he is informed from Emeliana that she has had his baby girl. The monstrous fish follows Godzilla, both dreadful destroyers but exciting sympathy, although the former is a coloniser and the latter, a colonised victim.

Lastly, the text contains dialogues between Gilly and his advisor, the spirit of dead Lee Boo. The text has the voice of the spirit, while Ikezawa's *The Stratosphere on a Summer Morning* does not give the voice to the spirits of the setting island. Lee Boo, a Palauan Royal prince, left for England with the *Antelope's* Captain Henry Wilson and its people in 1783, which had been stranded off the Palau Islands, and died young in England in the following year.⁹ Lee Boo and Gilly, both highly adaptable to different cultures, feel mutual sympathy. The difference of their opinions points out clearly the difference between English and Japanese colonialist discourses: although both British and Japanese colonialists look on their own colonised subjects as ambiguously, the latter emphasises the similarity, whereas the former the difference, between the colonisers and the colonised. Lee Boo thinks of his experience in England as 'a rise to a higher level of culture', remarking: 'Of course, since culture is peculiar to its land and history, it may be wrong to rank cultures hierarchically. But some

cultures are good at making us believe by overpowering us first that they are superior to us' (300). He also recalls that intellectuals in London treated him like a 'pet' (301). Gilly responds that: 'I did not experience so thoroughly different a culture as you had done, because [Japan or its culture] was not so elegant as [England or its culture, which has] salon' (303).

Lee Boo knows 'from the beginning that death only means transferring to this side' (306) and asserts that 'the largest distinction between European people and Pacific islanders' is whether or not they know that 'death is insignificant' (307). He suggests to Gilly after his downfall and before his suicide an idea which shapes the texture of the story:

In this world an individual is not so individual as you think. [...] The thoughts and desires of many people, the dead or alive, pile up and sometimes function as if they were one. (470)

Thus the text teasingly depicts the homosexuals, the common people, the bus, the local fable, and the boy spirit – all originally powerless fragments in the text – as if they were powerful: an omniscient narrator, critical experts, an aeroplane, universal wisdom, and a great philosopher. In doing so, the text produces collective thoughts and desires not as a transcendental or communal identity but as the Other that might disrupt a discursive space – colonialist historiography and scholarship, local political power, and the imperial authority of culture, militarism, and patriarchy. Those textual fragments, moreover, derive from, act on and reunite with the central narrative plot, in concert with Gilly's relationship to Melchor.

Ikezawa's representation of postcolonialism in the form of novel is marked with such circulation, appropriating the realistic manoeuvres in short stories of twisting typical romantic plots with stereotyped characters (Stevenson and Maugham) and of baffling colonialist romance with non-stereotypic characters (Nakajima). South Sea writers' criticism of imperial centres through their own and their characters' escape still keeps intact or has difficulties in overthrowing,

the solid binarism of centre/periphery, civilisation/savage, and coloniser/colonised that consists of the nucleus of Orientalism. The repeated circulation between 'centres' and 'peripheries' in Ikezawa's text moves their boundaries not only to articulate but to undermine the persistence of Nanyo-Orientalism.

Dankichi's advance towards and Godzilla's riposte from Nanyo – both of these influential, pre- and postwar, colonial and postcolonial Japanese tropes represent rectilinear motion though in the opposite direction. Despite ostensible differences, the stories are both based on a view of Pacific islanders as 'similar' others, and in the neo-colonial phase, they have been incorporated into Godzilla as a heroic monster which embodies a new mode of colonialist desires/fears. On the other hand, Godzilla's postcolonial retaliation is also rewritten and the 'similarity' discourse is challenged in Japanese literary scenes. Ikezawa's depiction of decolonised Micronesia as unknown 'other' defies colonial fantasy through circulative, ever-lasting locations and dislocations of self/other, without resort to 'Godzilla attack'. In this respect, his attempt is resonant with Pacific island writers' undertaking to write unknown 'self'. Such undertaking and comparison will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Notes

¹ Tamotsu Aoki suggests that since the mid-1980s, Japanese intellectuals' point at issue was shifted from Japan's 'uniqueness' to its 'universality'.

² Edward Said argues: '[...] if it is true that Conrad ironically sees the imperialism of the San Tomé silver mine's British and American owners as doomed by its own pretentious and impossible ambitions, it is also true that he writes as a man whose *Western* view of the non-Western world is so ingrained as to blind him to other histories, other cultures, other aspirations. All Conrad can see is a world totally dominated by the Atlantic West, in which every opposition to the West only confirms the West's wicked power. What Conrad cannot see is an alternative to this cruel tautology. He could neither understand that India, Africa, and South America also had lives and cultures with integrities not totally controlled by the gringo imperialists and reformers of this world, nor allow himself to believe that anti-imperialist independence movements were not all corrupt and in the pay of the puppet-masters in London or Washington' (1994, xix-xx).

³ Karen Kelsky, discussing some young Japanese women labelled 'yellow cabs', points out that through their aggressive sexual pursuit of non-Japanese (*gaijin*) males, the women 'defy standard Western Orientalist understanding of the Asian-Western sexual encounter, typically based on the *Madame Butterfly* trope of Western male power over and victimization of the Oriental women. In the standard yellow cab narrative, it is

wealthy and leisured young Japanese women who travel to exotic locales to pursue these sexual liaisons; it is the Japanese women who themselves pay for the expenses of initiating and maintaining the liaisons; and it is Japanese women who, along with Japanese men, have developed a thriving industry at home devoted to commentary upon and evaluation of the gaijin male as lover – a commentary entirely independent of the foreigner himself (173).

⁴ Daniel Defoe's character Robinson Crusoe, though often imagined as typical South Sea adventurer – valiant, indomitable, sagacious hero – is actually antipodal to the image, as was suggested in Chapter 5. Such a heroic image of Crusoe was forged in keeping with imperialist expansion both in the West and Japan through early Victorian and early Showa adventure stories à la *Robinson Crusoe*.

⁵ On this doubleness of anti-imperial cultural nationalism, see Boehmer 104-105.

⁶ Sakuragi acquires peace of mind by 'discover[ing] an uninhabited island that Robinson Crusoe would like' (Man Arai 67). The change in public view of Crusoe should be noticed: in the original, Robinson Crusoe did not like his island.

⁷ With regard to travel writing, Shintaro Ishihara's 'Kiken na Natsu' (A Dangerous Summer) and 'Minami no Umi de' (In the South Sea) are cases in point.

⁸ For example, in Ifuna Oda's novel *Yume no Mikuronesia: Ponape no Koi* [Dreamlike Micronesia: A Love in Ponape], a Japanese young man, burning with high hopes to develop Micronesian sanitary conditions, falls in love with a 'Kanaka' girl and settles in Ponape together with her as his wife. The text repeatedly stresses Japanese bonds with Micronesians from time immemorial.

⁹ On Lee Boo, see Peacock.

Chapter 10

Creating Pacific and Japanese 'Self/Other' in Polynesia

Wendt, Hau'ofa, and Nakajima as non-Western Pacific writers

As was previously seen, Japanese monster movies' postcoloniality – denunciation of US nuclear testing in the Pacific and the escalating rivalry of military strength of the US and Soviet Russia – is based on a view of Pacific islanders as 'different but similar' to the Japanese. Oppositions and senses of incongruity to political, economic, and cultural pressures and influences by the European/US power have been depicted through the mediation of victimised Pacific natives with the Japanese colonialist discourse of 'sameness' maintained. Japanese texts by Atsushi Nakajima in the 1940s and Nobuhiko Kobayashi and Natsuki Ikezawa in the 1990s challenge such discourse: in these realistic, fairly factual fictions on the backdrop of Micronesia's colonisation and decolonisation, its people and world are Japanised and powerless but so active and enigmatic as to outwit the ex-/coloniser.

Compared with the Japanese perception of colonised Pacific islanders as 'inferior/loveable close others', it may be said that they are 'inferior/loveable remote relatives' in Euro-American representations, which most Pacific island writers attempt to appropriate and subvert.¹ For the writers, however, Western writers have been representing the Pacific islanders only as 'others'. The Samoan writer Albert Wendt asserts in his influential essay 'Towards a New Oceania' (1976):

Up to a few years ago nearly all the literature about Oceania was written by papalagi [white people] and other outsiders. [...] The Oceania found in this literature is largely papalagi fictions, more revealing of papalagi fantasies and hang-ups, dreams and nightmares, prejudices and ways of viewing our crippled cosmos, than of our actual islands. I am not saying we should reject such a literature, or that papalagi should not write about us, and vice versa. But the imagination must explore with love / honesty / wisdom / and compassion; writers must write with aroha / aloha / alofa / loloma, respecting the people they are writing about, people who may view the Void differently and who, like all other human beings, live through the pores of their flesh and mind and bone, who suffer, laugh, cry, copulate, and die. (1993, 17-18)

Despite Wendt's argument of the lack of a similar consciousness in Western views of Pacific people, Western writers basically have been regarding Pacific islanders as the 'same human beings' as Europeans, as was suggested in Part II. But in South Sea discourses, whether romantic or realistic, academic or fictional, such Christian consciousness of 'sameness' (common humanity) is often latent behind insistence upon 'racial', cultural differences between Euro-American colonisers and Pacific islanders. For Pacific islanders, too, in whom, as Wendt suggests, '[t]he Victorian Christian/missionary maps are rooted deeply' (1995b, 26), Western (and Japanese) people also ought to be the same human beings as themselves. Nevertheless, as Vilsoni Hereniko argues, islanders 'infused it [i.e. Christianity] with their own cultural symbols and ways of worshiping that reflect their cultural heritage' (161). So for Pacific islanders, the 'same' people in non-Pacific worlds are all 'outsiders' at the same time, who 'may view the Void differently' from Pacific islanders.

Works on the Pacific by such 'outsiders' (colonial writers), even anti-romantic ones, are not acceptable to some Pacific island writers. What is important for Pacific writers is not so much abrogating Western modes of modern worldview that some Western writers such as Stevenson and Maugham attempted to resist, as representing their world and people by themselves.

Wendt points out:

Even serious artists such as Gauguin, Melville, Stevenson, and Maugham played a crucial role in establishing the sad myth of South Seas paradises. Literary factories like Michener inflated the glittering corpse further. As a writer I have so many literary straitjackets and myths about the South Seas to break out of in order to see my own people, honestly, truthfully. Still so much crap to unlearn! To some extent, I am still a stereotyped tourist wandering through stereotyped tropical paradises, a cliché viewing the South Seas through a screen of clichés. (1976, 28)

Our artists are borrowing Western art forms and materials and adapting them to explore their own visions and peoples. The novel is a Western form but we can now talk of a distinctively Pacific novel written by Pacific Islanders. [...] Our Pacific novelists put us at centre stage: they try to restore to us our dignity and self-respect. (1987, 89)

Wendt and Nakajima, an outsider for Wendt, have important points in common as non-Western writers depicting the Pacific. As was seen previously, Nakajima, like Wendt, was disappointed in Palau and realised (to borrow Wendt's words) that he too had 'so much crap to unlearn' – 'viewing the South Seas through a screen of clichés' by Western artists and writers such as Gauguin, Melville, and Loti. He placed Pacific islanders 'at centre stage' in his work. Wendt argues that outsiders 'must not pretend they can write from inside us' (1987, 89). And Nakajima does not pretend so: he represents islanders as becoming more and more incomprehensible – 'outsiders' – to him during his stay in Japanised Micronesia. The target of Nakajima's critique is not only Western colonial fantasy of the Pacific but also Japanese colonialist discourse in which Micronesians are regarded as 'the lowest-grade Japanese' – 'different but moderately similar to the Japanese'.

Pacific island writers also censure Pacific islanders themselves as well as Western ex-/colonisers. Wendt argues:

Racism is institutionalised in all cultures, and the desire to dominate and exploit others is not the sole prerogative of the papalagi. [...] Many of us are guilty – whether we are aware of it or not – of perpetuating the destructive colonial chill, and are doing so in the avowed interest of ‘preserving our racial/cultural purity’ (whatever this means). (1993, 12)

In fact, in most independent island nations, the political elites are now exploiting our own people. In some cases, it’s worse now than under colonial rule. (Hereniko and Hanlon 86)

These comments remind us of Ikezawa’s and Kobayashi’s depiction of Micronesia. Nakajima and Wendt, as well as these Japanese writers, suggest that the binarism of bad Western colonisers and good islanders is too simplistic as a framework for mapping post/colonialism in the Pacific.

Towards the written word, Nakajima and Pacific island writers also have approximately the same attitude. Despite a different focus, a greater affinity between the Japanese and Pacific writing could be pointed out. They differ from most South Sea writers such as Ballantyne and Michener who impose Western prose on the Pacific. According to the Tongan writer Epeli Hau’ofa, the written word, which was given through European missions and education, is ‘still strange to most islanders, even to those who are highly literate’ (1990, 51). His main reason for writing is

to develop a personal style that echoes the sounds of the spoken words in the islands. [...] The style that I have developed is an attempt to translate into writing the cadences of sounds as produced in the islands by story-tellers, preachers, orators, people in supplication, people giving orders, arguing, quarrelling, gossiping and so forth. [...] My writing therefore is not something only for quiet reading in bed or in a library. It is meant to be read out aloud so that some of the beautiful and not so beautiful sounds of the voices of the Pacific may be heard and appreciated. (1990, 51)

As for Nakajima, as was suggested in Chapter 3, he also makes use of rhythms and meters (of classical Chinese and Japanese verse) in his prose writing, which as the result is 'to be read out aloud'. In doing so, he resists writing in an unrhythmic 'colloquial style' which Japanese people acquired by virtue of translating Western literatures since the late nineteenth century and which was no longer strange to the Japanese in his time but not appropriate for him, a writer as outsider.

Hau'ofa writes in his essay 'Our Sea of Islands' (1993), which Houston Wood asserts, as well as Wendt's 'Towards a New Oceania', 'should be acknowledged to be cultural productions that perform a task as important as any poem, story, or novel that has been written in or about the contemporary Pacific' (394):

I saw such scenes of grandeur as I had not seen before: the eerie blackness of regions covered by recent volcanic eruptions; the remote majesty of Maunaloa, long and smooth, the world's largest volcano; the awesome craters of Kilauea threatening to erupt at any moment; and the lava flow on the coast not far away. Under the aegis of Pele, and before my very eyes, the Big Island was growing, rising from the depths of a mighty sea. The world of Oceania is not small; it is huge and growing bigger every day. (Hau'ofa 1999, 30)

The 'Big Island' 'growing, rising from the depths of a mighty sea' is reminiscent of the images found in a dominant Japanese image of Oceania as the habitat of Godzilla and other huge monsters that appear in Japanese cinemas ever since the aftermath of US occupation. Yet most Japanese texts, including those monster movies, always portray the Pacific islands as the most backward world, not having depicted 'Oceania's success' (Hau'ofa 1999, 34). In such Japanese texts, criticism of US and Japanese neo-/colonialism towards the Pacific islands is apt to be complacent and countered by a similar lack of genuine dialogue with the islanders themselves.

Nakajima depicts such a dialogue with an elite islander in his 'Mariyan'. She, the eponymous Micronesian, reads a Japanese version of Loti's romantic South Sea story and tells a Japanese functionary that the story does not represent the reality of the Pacific islands. So, Mariyan is similar to contemporary Pacific island writers. The dialogue between Mariyan and the author-like Japanese character suggests that Japanese writers should not enjoy Polynesian myths by Western writers blindly but should listen to Pacific islanders' voices – voices as declared in, for example, Wendt's 'Towards a New Oceania' and Hau'ofa's 'Our Sea of Islands'.

How Pacific island writers view and represent the Japanese will be significant to relativise Japanese views of the Pacific and overcome Nanyo-Orientalism.

In turn for Pacific island writers, Western/colonial art, literature and education and their own oral traditions are not the only things that they make reference to and are affected by. According to Wendt, their literature

was part of the process of decolonisation and the cultural revival that was taking place in our region, inspired by and learning from the anti-colonial struggles in Ireland, Africa, the Caribbean, and India, the civil rights movement in the United States, the international student protest movement and the opposition to the Vietnam War. (1995a, 4)

Then, how could the culture and history of the Japanese as coloniser colonised be located and adopted in their literature? If the Japanese view of the Pacific is not exactly the same as white colonial views, can we find a corresponding difference in Pacific Islander views of Japan as contrasted to the West?

Works by Pacific island writers that deal with Japan/Japanese are very small in number except for Japanese-Hawaiian writers' works (which will be discussed in Chapter 12). Yet they are placed in pivotal positions in the history of Pacific island writing. Hau'ofa's *Tales of the Tikongs* (1983) and Wendt's *Ola* (1991), both ground-breaking texts for their satiric allegories and stylistic

experiment, incorporate references to contemporary Japan as significant elements in their vision.

Hau'ofa's mocking of ex-/neo-colonial Japanese stereotypes

Concerning Hau'ofa's work, J. S. Ryan points out that 'the line between his creative writing and scholarly reports is somewhat arbitrary, since all are concerned no less with the social and moral, than with the narrowly economic, aspects of aid/development, trade, migration and all aspects of change, his writings endeavouring always to interpret the human consequence of policies which may be completely well meaning' (33). Hau'ofa's *Tales of the Tikongs*, a collection of humorous and sarcastic short stories bound together by the setting of a fictional Pacific island state, Tiko, and a 'Tikong' character, Manu. *Tales* circumvents a Manichaeian narrative structure of the coloniser and the colonised. Manu does not side with the Tikongs, whether elite or common, let alone neo-/ex-colonisers from New Zealand, Australia, the US, the UK, and Japan. Balancing Tikong ways with outsiders' ones, *Tales* says:

The Lord moves one way, followed by Christians everywhere, and Tiko goes in the opposite direction, all on its own. Thus if the Lord works six days and rests on the Seventh, Tiko rests six days and works on the Seventh. (Hau'ofa 1983, 1)

The Tikongs are basically similar to 'others' (in this case, Christians everywhere) but different from them in details. Despite this basic similarity, both of the two parties regard themselves as poles apart. Manu is the only character who can assume an unprejudiced and critical attitude towards poor Tikongs and those colonial powers simultaneously because he knows even more of both Tikong and Western cultures than Tikong and Western educated class.

'Japan' appears in two stories of *Tales*: 'Old Wine in New Bottles' and 'The Tower of Babel'. Basically Japan is not distinguished from other colonial powers and stereotyped images are used in the stories. In 'The Tower of Babel',

Japanese fishermen, as well as foreign experts from Australia and elite Tikongs, fear losing face:

The Hata Maru, as it was known in Tokyo, was crewed by Japanese men none of whom was younger than sixty-five. The elderly hands, whose sex drive had long gone dry, as they say around the dockyards of the Orient, would go out for three or four months until the one-hundred-ton hold was filled to the hatch with tuna.

When the Japanese envoy presented the vessel at Tulisi to His Excellency's Government he did not reveal this clever operating method, because the Japanese, whose country is managed by a gerontocracy, did not wish to let it be known that their old men are of little value to women. They did not want to lose face. (19-20)

The political, economic powers within and outside Tiko are depicted as unvenerable to the Tikongs and equal to Tikong thieves: the 'Wise Men at the Thinking Office' and the 'Appropriate Authorities' – the elite in Tiko – also 'do not want to lose face' (20) to youths. In the text, Manu makes a point of those (aged) elite's sexual inferiority behind their misrule. The Japanese are represented as diligent, vain, old men lacking sex appeal. These general stereotypes (symbolised by gerontocratic awkwardness) are deployed in the text by transferring them to local powers.

Such arrogant, unattractive Japanese old men as ex-coloniser incarnations also appear in contemporary Japanese texts set in Micronesia such as Nobuhiko Kobayashi's *Sekai de Ichiban Atsui Shima* (The Hottest Island in the World) and Natsuki Ikezawa's *Mashiasu Giri no Shikkyaku* (The Downfall of Macías Gilly). In Kobayashi's text, two old men – an obstinate Nanyo-broker and a shrewd engraver – outwit the protagonist, a Japanese middle-aged man, who disapproves of contemporary, insufficiently Americanised Japan, especially its remaining traditional elements symbolised in the old men. Ikezawa's sarcastic style approximates his text to Hau'ofa's. In *The Downfall of Macías Gilly*, Japanese former soldiers who survived the Pacific War visit a former Japanese-ruled Micronesian state, with militaristic spirits and patronising attitudes

unchanged. Yet decolonised Micronesia makes their minds 'South-Sea-like' through consecutive queer incidents.

In all cases of Hau'ofa, Kobayashi and Ikezawa, Japanese colonial power is likened to old men and treated with contempt. It is, however, dealt with as smaller than Western, especially US, power in these Japanese texts, whereas it is as strong as any other outsider power in *Tales*. In 'Old Wine in New Bottles', Japanese power is described more metonymically. 'Like ninety-nine per cent of his countrymen [i.e. Tikongs] Hiti likes to make new things look very old very quickly before he can love them dearly' (12). One example of the old things is an English bicycle which his father bought in 1945 to 'commemorate the Victory over the Fuehrer' and on which he 'literally grew up': the bicycle is a metonym of the Great British Empire of which Tiko was part (12). Another instance is a small Toyota sedan:

When he acquired the vehicle, so made as to carry no more than four short, slight Japanese, Hiti promptly filled it with six hefty Tikongs. In a matter of months the Tikongs grew large while the Toyota shrank. Both rear-view mirrors and the hub-caps have disappeared, [...] The car looks very old and very sick, and Hiti loves it dearly. He takes care of it now, and the Toyota sedan, like other motor-vehicles in Tiko, will sputter on for the next fifteen years although its makers had intended it to last no more than seven. (12)

Such a 'love' of Hiti towards the old things – things from ex-/neo-colonial authorities as well as local traditions that became superannuated for appropriation/abuse – is a reversed version of the colonialist 'love' towards the colonised. The colonisers love the colonised only after the former could tame and exploit the latter. His domestication and love of the Toyota sedan, which is associated with stereotyped images of Japan/Japanese (mechanical high technology, a small country, and short restless people), is a mordant retaliation against Japanese neo-/colonial assimilationism.

To the contrary, Hiti cannot deal with a young American Peace Corps

volunteer, 'a long-standing dropout from his growth-crazed society', who 'deciphers the South Sea code':

When, at private parties to which no ordinary Tikongs are invited, some foreign advisers, oozing rectitude, decry the rampant corruption and nepotism in the realm, the Peace Corps volunteer merely shrugs his shoulders saying, 'So, what else is new in the world?' And Hiti, who cannot drive him into self-righteousness and hence into early old age, despises him most heartily. (16)

This figure is a modern form of the beachcomber romanticised in cases such as Paul Gauguin, Robert Dean Frisbie, Koben Mori, and Hisakatsu Hijikata. In this mock-heroic work, such a type of 'outsider' is a 'mimic man', as it were, not to be domesticated or appropriated/abused (Polynesianised) at the mercy of locals. As was seen in the previous chapter, Koji Tanaka's *Chiisaki Kami no Shimajima* (The Small Islands of God), Man Arai's 'Sansetto Bichi Hoteru' (The Sunset Beach Hotel) and Kobayashi's *The Hottest Island in the World* also have such 'dropout', not self-righteous, Nanyo-loving protagonists, more seriously depicting severer accusation against them. Japanese postcolonialism, as typically found in Godzilla, is more self-tormenting, as compared with Hau'ofa's well-proportioned criticism of the West, Japan and the Pacific.

Re-discovering a Pacific postcolonial body through Japan: Wendt's *Ola*

Paul Sharrad points out: 'If Albert Wendt declares that he writes to undo myths about the Pacific retailed by Melville, Maugham and Michener, then Epeli Hau'ofa works to expose a more modern Pacific myth – that of "Development" in all its guises, from local pork-barrelling to introduced commercial ventures' (1993a, 128). The two writers also describe Japan/Japanese in a different way: while Hau'ofa writes stereotyped images of Japan in *Tales of the Tikongs*, Wendt writes *about* such stereotypes in *Ola*, as will be shown later. Both of them, however, are 'suspended between opposing worlds, belonging to both and neither

at the same time' (Sharrad 1993a, 129), portraying characters who are at once deeply versed in history and culture of either side, and eccentric for it. Manu in *Tales* and Galupo in Wendt's *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* (1979) are typical of such characters of them. Yet Galupo is a powerful Samoan, unlike Hau'ofa's Manu who, like the author, is 'always associated closely only with underdogs' and is 'a confirmed agnostic' that 'cannot attain a good standing, for his beliefs place him outside the community' (Hau'ofa 1990, 42, 43). And such a focus on powerless, agnostic islanders can also be seen in Nakajima's work. Hau'ofa's and Nakajima's islander characters always attempt to counter the metropolitan/local authorities without obtaining power. As opposed to their characters, Wendt's Galupo finds his way out from the 'underdog' role by taking advantage of Christianity.

Galupo also appears slightly in *Ola*, which is Wendt's subsequent novel to *Leaves* and which inherits and develops its contents. In *Ola*, Wendt writes:

As she [Ola, the Samoan protagonist] ate her lettuce and green-pepper salad she reminded me that Sapepe and the Vaipe were 'creations of Albert Wendt's very unSamoan imagination, in his novel Leaves of the Banyan Tree'. 'And remember,' she went on to make me feel more inadequate, 'Malo Tauilopepe Galupo is the melodramatically fascist heir who returns, in Book Three, to take over Sapepe.'

So Ola in her story has played profound tricks with reality (hers, mine and yours, dear reader), disguising her trail with fictions borrowed from other practitioners of that magic, to give it other depths of meaning, or should I say, another shape of meaning. And, through her creations, had added new dimensions to Albert Wendt's Sapepe and the Vaipe and Samoa and ourselves. (1991, 347)

In the tripartite saga novel *Leaves*, Wendt describes a 'circulation' – Sapepe's modernisation by a Samoan 'mimic man', Tauilopepe, in Book One with the omniscient narration; a speculative rebellion against his power by his son, Pepe, in Book Two with Pepe's first-person narration; and inheritance/innovation of Tauilopepe's authority by his returned would-be son,

Galupo, in once again omnisciently narrated Book Three. *Ola* takes over the 'circulation', adding to it a global scale and 'tricks with reality': Ola goes on a pilgrimage to Israel, New Zealand, the US, and Japan before returning to her home village, Sapepe, which as we have seen was integrated by the enigmatic and charismatic leader, Galupo.

By depicting kaleidoscopic changes of recognition of self/other through the world-wide pilgrim and return, Wendt attempts to write an unknown 'self' to Pacific islanders that 'challenges' and 'subverts' the familiar 'selves' of Pacific/outside people and societies which have been produced within and outside the Pacific islands:

The art of writing keeps leading me through and out of my accepted self into new areas of freedom and self. Now I know why such art is considered dangerous by many people and societies. It threatens, it challenges, it subverts who and what we are at any given time; it takes us into heresy, the new, the unexplored – and who wants to be challenged, subverted? Who wants to give up habit, the status quo, the familiar self for the unknown? (114)

This 'art of writing' by Wendt is consistent with Hau'ofa's 'oceanic identity', which aims at moving away from fixed oppositional identities: 'As the sea is an open and ever-flowing reality, so should our oceanic identity transcend all forms of insularity, to become one that is openly searching, inventive, and welcoming' (Hau'ofa 2000, 127). Wendt's and Hau'ofa's proposal of a new regional identity as, in Hau'ofa's words, 'something that should serve to enrich our other selves' (2000, 114), has the backdrop of the rising tide of regional disunity of the 1980s. Especially the 1987 right-wing military coups in Fiji caused great damage to the ideologies that transcended cultural diversity such as the Pacific Way and neo-Marxism (Hau'ofa 2000, 116).

As we saw in the former chapter, in Natsuki Ikezawa's *The Downfall of Macías Gilly*, too, such recursive, ever-changing recognition of self/other is described. Ikezawa's attempt to write unknown 'others' is resonant with Wendt's

and Hau'ofa's undertaking to write unknown 'self' in that these writers defy colonial fantasy by depicting repetitive dis/location of self/other. It is interesting that the Pacific island writers who are seeking 'self' transcending diversity and the Japanese writer who are engaged in dismantling 'self' (tenuous as it is) disguising diversity employ the similar method.

In spite of this similarity, there is a crucial discrepancy in representation of the contemporary Pacific between the Japanese and Pacific island texts. The Japanese text also has the Pacific islander protagonist who is more familiar with Japanese culture and thought than are the Japanese themselves. Unlike Galupo, however, Gilly falls from power due to his neglect of people's collective consciousness inscrutable and potential to counterattack his hegemonic individual power. In Ikezawa's book, it is members of a local senior council and shrine maidens who integrate the collective consciousness. Such collective, holistic anti-colonialist potentiality in the Pacific, embodied as Godzilla and other Pacific monsters in Toho cinemas, is often represented as an incorporeal menace in contemporary Japanese novels. Yet in Japanese texts, it is not epitomised by a person like Galupo. (Fernando, Kobayashi's Micronesian character, enigmatic like Galupo, turns out to be a failure like Godzilla. Just as the massive destruction in the monster films and a coup in Kobayashi's *The Hottest Island in the World*, the counterattack, when conducted not by intelligence [as in *Macías Gilly*] but by force, always culminates in being defeated by more destructive power.) Despite the realisation of futility of reprisal by force, Galupo-like powerful islander characters – powerful in the sense of postcolonial intervention in colonial dominant power – cannot be created in Japanese texts.

Thus postcolonial representations of the decolonised Pacific in Japanese and Wendt's texts are different in that the latter articulates a new 'self' more clearly. Japanese texts in the 1980s-1990s, focused on subverting the conventional Japanese colonialist view of the Pacific as a potential Japanese (different but similar) sphere, do no more than attempt to re-estrangle the 'close others' into 'distant others', just as Nakajima already did in wartime.

In *Ola*, Wendt's depiction of Japan parodies stereotyped images. The sections on Israel are in a more serious mode, contrasting deep-rooted biblical illusions with obvious facts, especially the conflict between Jews and Palestinians. Papalagi, the most familiar 'others' to Samoans, are also criticised with more severity in this book to depict a Pakeha New Zealand that 'continues to run away from its true history, that is rooted in blood and piracy and plunder and racism' (67). *Ola* goes further to critique the expansion of white colonialism into a general global imperialist culture. Manhattan – '[y]ou devour us, you feed us, you poison us, you will not free us' (112), and a British woman 'using art and a façade of respectability as a cover', which is '[t]ypically colonial' (209).

So where does Wendt's representation of Japan fit in this context? The Japanese, as non-Samoans, non-papalagis, and non-Christians, should be absolutely remote others, 'very efficient and discreet arrangers of everything' (265). To visit Japan is Ola's long-cherished desire, where she can have an affair with a Samoan lover who has his family there and rediscover 'the feel/shape/sound/smell/taste/flow and magic of a man's body' (265). She says: 'you're different from them, more conspicuous because you're larger than them – you'll always feel a giant among the Japanese, a big-footed, clumsy meat-eating giant' (267). Such romantic, exotic experiences are much the same as what Western Orientalists have been describing about Japan.

For Ola before her actual visit, Japan is 'Land of Kabuke / Noh / Toyota / Kurosawa / and Kenzaburo Oe, one of my favourite novelists' (262). Wendt mentions Noh plays and Oe in other places. 'When I went to Japan', Wendt replies in an interview, 'I really liked Noh plays, even though I don't understand Japanese at all. It's very ritualized, and very stylized. [...] Noh theater is very different from Western theater in that the actors all wear masks, which cancel out the individual facial expressions of the actors. And they all shuffle in the same way – that cancels out the differences between the actors as well. They all have high-pitched voices, not the voice of the actor, and they speak in a stylized manner' (Hereniko and Hanlon 102). In Wendt (*Ola*), such traditional facelessness of Noh plays is closely associated with contemporary Japan's

tenuous and ambiguous 'I-ness' (or Japanese 'self') or indistinguishable self/other, which is an important theme for Kenzaburo Oe (Kenzaburo Oe). In his 'Three Poems for Kenzaburo Oe', Wendt writes:

In Samoan your name means 'You'.
When I tell you this you chuckle
and say, No wonder I have
always considered myself
an alienated man – it is
never 'I' but always 'You'. (1984, 10)

This concept of ambiguous, alienated 'self' is also a significant theme for Wendt, 'both indigenous and one of newcomers' (Wendt 1995b, 18). For Wendt, therefore, Japan is not merely a country in which contemporary tourist myths of the South Seas are 'duty free, electronic, and manufactured' (Wendt 1976, 28).

Ola's Orientalism is disoriented by an unexpectedly Samoan-like scene and a non-stereotyped Japanese man. '[O]ver lawns under rows and rows of cypresses and pines that have been trimmed to look alike',

you begin to sense – and you're frightened at first – that the trees are reading your every thought, and you try and seem endless, their rows pulling you into their slender sadness – that's the only way you can describe it, a sadness as deep as you've experienced in the mountains of Upolu and the lava fields of Savai'i, the sadness that lies behind everything, waiting because it knows it is the end (and the beginning) of everything. (267)

Endless-looking rows of trees in Tokyo remind her of the lava of Savaii, Western Samoa (that is written at length in Book Two of *Leaves*), an ever-changing sphere 'opposed to the fixed tyrannies of indigenous tradition' and 'slavish consumerist fixations stemming from the domination of western modernity' (Sharrod 1990, 604). In *Ola*, this new Samoan image of the lava fields ('the

essence of Samoanness' for Wendt [Wendt 1995b, 32]) is adapted for a Japanese version of new image of the 'faceless' rows of trees. Wendt also writes in an essay of his: 'Reality is not fixed and permanent for everyone. [...] We live in what the Japanese describe as the "Floating World", an ever-changing approximation of what is' (1987, 82). The lava fields (self) and rows of trees (other) are integrated under the Japanese concept of the transitory nature of things, 'Floating World' (*ukiyo*), to which Wendt as a writer attempts to 'catch and put a face and shape' (Wendt 1987, 82).

As has been suggested in this thesis, the ideology of facelessness or sameness is a main point to consider Japanese post-/colonial discourse of self/other. In *Ola*, as postcolonial critics, Tamura-san, who, not mispronouncing his 'l's and 'r's, dispels Ola's stereotype of the Japanese ('businessman – inscrutable, annoyingly polite and reticent, and a teetotaller'), ironically says, 'all of us humble Japanese never give up hope of converting barbarians to our civilised diet' (268). Such assimilationism of outsiders is applicable to the standardisation of insiders. He also says to Ola:

'Our Sun God has always been too far away for an ignorant peasant like me. Emperor-worship was for our noble classes, who enriched themselves in the Emperor's service and in his golden name imposed a mass culture throughout our country, a culture centred on the Emperor and the aristocracy. Smaller cultures, like mine, were swept away. Now the Sun God has become faceless technology, money, television – all the ills of the societies we borrowed them from.' (270)

Wendt not only criticises Japanese imperialism; he also expresses something of his own role as a postcolonial writer in English through this eccentric Japanese man. Tamura-san, captured and imprisoned in a British prison camp in Malaya in wartime, did not want to escape because in that camp he was 'safe from patriotism, self-sacrifice and possible death', and 'he found a language he loved (apart from Japanese, that is) – English' (270). In Tamura-san's words:

'One can love a people's literature but not the people. Our British wardens were arrogant and ignorant, they hid the latter under a humourless inscrutability and pretence at learning and civilisation. [...] I could never understand their preoccupation with cats, cricket, sherry, class and inscrutable sex. And to think that our own aristocracy aped the English aristocracy! It wasn't just technology we borrowed from the West . . . To the Queen of England!' (270)

Such sympathy of Wendt towards the postcolonial Japanese or the Japanese as the colonised is correspondent with that of Japanese writers such as Nakajima, Kobayashi and Ikezawa towards de-/colonised Micronesia. The relation of *Ola* and Tamura-san makes a mirror image of that of a Japanese functionary and Mariyan in Nakajima's story 'Mariyan'.

Wendt's text further stresses the Japanese ideology of sameness, using a cliché of the myth of Japanese cultural homogeneity, *Wa*: 'One must not be different, call attention to oneself: it is the group that is important, the relationships, the *Wa*, in that group, to nurse/cultivate/keep in harmonious order. Kaput to individualism, the unexpected, diversity' (274). Unlike the Japanese texts that attempt to re-create alterity of Micronesia to dismantle such ideology, however, *Ola* undertakes to destabilise stereotypes of Japan as the 'other'. The *Wa* is akin to the Samoan concept of *Va*: 'Our *va* with others define us. / We can only be ourselves linked to everyone and everything / else in the *Va*, the Unity-that-is-All and now' (307). Japan is no longer the exotic, ultra-modern-faced 'other' to *Ola*. Wendt mentions *Va* in more details in his essay 'Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body' (1996):

Important to the Samoan view of reality is the concept of *Va* or *Wa* in Maori and Japanese. *Va* is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates, but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships and the contexts change. [...] A well-known Samoan expression is "Ia teu le va" – cherish, nurse, care for the *va*, the

relationships. This is crucial in communal cultures that value group unity more than individualism, that perceive the individual person, or creature, or thing in terms of group, in terms of *va*, relationships. (1999, 402)

In *Ola*, Japan is used not as a colonial other but as a point of connection in which differences can help the traveller discover aspects of her selfhood.

Hau'ofa makes Japan as well as other neo-/colonial powers in the Pacific undergo a metamorphosis into a postcolonial Pacific mode in *Tales of the Tikongs*. On the other hand, Wendt produces crevices into fixed images of self/other of a Pacific postcolonial subject not only through Christian worlds but also through a non-Christian sphere, Japan, in *Ola*. Despite this difference, these texts have a texture of aiming to appropriate the Pacific islanders and outsiders in colonial discourses and 'Pacificise' them. In this sense, the Pacific island writers' postcoloniality is in contrast to the Japanese writers' one in which they are engaged in unshackling Pacific islanders from 'Japanisation'.

Notes

¹ On 'Pacific literature' by indigenous writers, see Simms and Subramani.

Chapter 11

Beyond the Tug of War between ‘Americanisation’ and ‘Japanisation’ in Micronesia

The focal point of this chapter is voices from the part of Micronesia that was/is placed under the rule of Japan and the US. The area has been directly and deeply involved in Japanese and US military, economic and cultural colonialism which is the target of contemporary Japanese texts. However, it is still difficult to construct a negotiation between Japanese and Micronesian works as a real dialogue between the former colonisers and colonised. As Mark Skinner points out, ‘the development and promotion of creative writing in Micronesia is growing but still in its infancy’ (4). According to Skinner’s categorisation of Micronesian works, there is only one single work categorised as ‘novel’. In this area, where ‘Americanisation’ has permeated the islands under the pressure of US military and political power, ‘postcolonial’ writing’s target ought to be US hegemony or the modern Western literary world, as with writing from decolonising Polynesia and Melanesia. Yet the only Micronesian ‘novel’ (although categorising this work as novel is problematic as mentioned later), *Mariquita*, written by American-Guamanian Chris Perez Howard, focuses on Japan’s wartime occupation of Guam as well as US rule. The work was first published in 1982 by PPH & Co. in Agana, Guam, the principal centre for creating and publishing literary work in Micronesia, entitled *Mariquita: A Guam Story*. It was republished in 1986 by Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific, in Suva, Fiji, the hub of ‘Pacific island literature’ publishing, entitled *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam*, and has become a landmark

work in Micronesian literary history.

In this chapter, representations of a Guamanian Chamorro 'self' and its relations to American and Japanese imperialisms in *Mariquita* will be first considered. A different attitude towards US rule in a Guamanian story, Jesus Napti's *Nightmare Near the Kiosk* (1983), also set in wartime Guam under Japan, will then be examined. After that, the journal *Storyboard* and Vincente Diaz's essay 'Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam' (1994) will be used to show how views of US 'Americanisation' policy and wartime Japanese imperialism in 1980s stories are transformed in these 1990s works in Guam. Guam, which except for the period of the Japanese Forces' occupation during World War Two has been the centre of US control of this area since the Spanish-American War in 1898, should be distinguished in colonial experience from the rest of Micronesia, which was under Japan's control continuously from 1914 to 1945. Although there are no principal works on Japan itself found in the former Japanese-owned Micronesia, views of Japan in this region, especially Palau, the former centre of Japanese rule, will be mentioned, referring to Dirk Ballendorf's and Wakako Higuchi's research. I shall then attempt a sketch of differences in Micronesian attitudes towards 'Japanisation' and 'Americanisation', and between Micronesian and Japanese postcolonial literary responses to US hegemony and representations of self/other. How these representations conform to or differ from the model(s) of 'Pacific literature' established on writing from elsewhere in Oceania will also be discussed.

Which coloniser is better? : Chris Perez Howard's *Mariquita*

Japan's imperialism, with its emphasis of 'sameness' of the Japanese coloniser and Asia/Pacific colonised, which Atsushi Nakajima implicitly expresses his feeling of incongruity with in his wartime work, is retold from a different position in *Mariquita*. The author, Chris Perez Howard, was born in Guam in 1940 of an American father and a Guamanian Chamorro mother, and was raised in the US. *Mariquita* is a story about his mother's life: her happy girlhood, love

and marriage with his father, and her suffering and mysterious death under Japan's invasion during World War Two. But *Mariquita* is not a simple biography. The author writes in the preface: 'I never realized that the history of Guam was so confusing and so often contradictory. To try and decipher the truth from conversation so richly embroidered with imagination was also difficult. But the most difficult was trying to remain emotionally uninvolved when the story was about my mother' (vi). He, therefore, wrote this story both as 'history' and as 'literature'. Actually, he weaves photographs, letters, diaries, newspaper clippings, etc. of those days into the text along with archival research and oral family testimony about Guam and his mother. In presenting Guam from this 'scholarly' perspective, he tells the story from a viewpoint of an 'outsider' – an American non-islander.

For him, however, the relation to Guam is an emotional one that overrides the terms of objective documentation. In his words: 'Since returning to Guam I have sought information about my Chamorro heritage and, as a result, *discovered* another identity – my Chamorro self' (iv; my emphasis). *Mariquita* says on its flyleaf that 'Storytelling was an important feature in the Chamorro culture as it was the way to remember things for years to come' (i). This book is, in the author's words, 'written with the hope that people will know through the life of one girl, the sad history of the occupation of Guam' (89). In *Mariquita*, Perez Howard fills the role of being representative of the Chamorro people and culture, or telling a story of the 'self' to 'outsiders' authentically.

Accordingly it can be said that the author is literally both self and other to the Chamorro culture. Not only the author, but also the text itself is heterogeneous. It is so both in form as stated above, and in content. In *Mariquita* the generic and cultural syncretism – in race, language, church, education, architecture, marriage, fashion, food, and so forth – is celebrated. An embodiment of this happy syncretism is the eponymous heroine, a girl of high birth, 'part Spanish, Filipino, Chinese and a direct descendent of the last full-blooded Chamorro' (2). Although she has a 'face which held all the beauty and mystery of the Pacific' (2), she is not a stereotypical 'pure' Pacific girl: her life

and sense of values are so Americanised that she is reprimanded by her American husband (Eddie) for her lack of 'pride in her own culture' (38). Eddie says to Mariquita:

"Tippy, when I fell in love and married you, I also loved and married your culture and I don't want to lose it. It certainly is confusing and mixed up, but it's still your culture. You don't have to give up your identity to become true Americans." (40)

This episode suggests that indigenouness of the colonised ('Chamorro-ness') is 'discovered' by the colonisers (Americans). For America and Europe, 'Chamorro' implied voluntarily domesticated natives – good non-Westerners – a signifier to justify their colonisation. So for the American husband, Mariquita ought to be a 'comprehensible other', both assimilated and differentiated – something the coloniser can find to be both exotic and accessible; someone he can be proud to possess. Yet Eddie's reprimand implies that despite its assimilation policy, US imperialism lays emphasis on 'differences' rather than 'similarities'. Guamanians, however deeply Americanised as Mariquita was, have never been regarded as Americans ever since the US military captured Guam from Spain in 1898. That is 'a fact which upset Mariquita because she considered herself to be an American' (36). By contrast, as repeatedly suggested so far in this thesis, Japanese imperialism emphasises 'sameness' resulting from its assimilationism, with which explicit social and economic segregation is regarded as compatible. However, *Mariquita* shows that, unlike the situation in Japan's mandatory territory of Micronesia, in Guam, Japanisation was superficial because of prior Americanisation and also the 'natives' were treated more harshly (oppressed rather than assimilated) because they were seen to be allied to and tainted by America:

The "Japanization" of Guam peaked during the summer of 1942. The island and all of the towns had been given Japanese names. The schools were re-opened to teach Japanese language and traditions. All American books were burned. The

young children were required to attend classes each morning, and instead of pledging allegiance to the American flag, they now bowed to the emperor of Japan. If they were late for school, they were slapped or struck with sticks. People between the ages of thirteen and sixty attended evening classes twice a week. Gradually, as more people began living in semi-seclusion in rural areas and others found excuses for not attending, few adults were left in the educational program. (64)

In *Mariquita*, prewar Guam is represented as follows: 'Life on Guam was peaceful and harmonious. [...] The relationship between the Americans and Guamanians was overtly one of friendship and mutual respect. Racial prejudice, if any existed, was hidden [...]' (23). Although inequalities are alluded to, it might be no exaggeration to say that in *Mariquita* Guam is described as a 'modern syncretic paradise', instead of an 'immaculate paradise' as in Melville's *Typee* or of a 'contaminated paradise lost' as in his *Omoo*. The 'paradise' is maintained relatively easily, according to *Mariquita*, because of Guamanians' essential 'propensity for harmony' and American soldiers' 'exemplary character' (23).

It is the Japanese Imperial Forces that destroy the peace and harmony of Guam and Mariquita's newly-married life. The people run about trying to escape the ravages of the war. Her husband is imprisoned and taken away to Japan. Mariquita thinks 'how much she hate[s] the *barbarians* who [disrupted] their happy life' (62; my emphasis). The 'cruelties' of Japanese soldiers and the 'fear and hardship' of Guamanians during the Japanese naval rule from March 1942 to March 1944 are depicted in some detail. *Mariquita* exposes from the viewpoint of the colonised how empty the Japanisation of Guam was and the illusory nature of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere', which Nakajima's Nan'yo stories suggest with regard to Japan's mandated territory from a colonialist point of view. While the Guamanians are 'confident that the Americans would soon liberate them' (63), the 'evil deeds' of Japanese soldiers attempt to make a victim of Mariquita: she is attached to the army as a 'comfort woman'. One day she is tortured when disobeying the head *taicho*, and is led

away to the woods by a Japanese official. It seems that she was killed there, but her body was never found despite a thorough search by her relatives, friends, and American troops which was conducted after 'the Americans had liberated the island of Guam' (86).

Thus *Mariquita* represents the Japanese as, so to speak, 'modern evil savages'. Although in the text there appears no such savage as is depicted in European fiction on the tropical Pacific, the act of 'barbarity' is handed over to the Japanese. Despite the author's emotional investment in the drama of his mother's death, he attempts an objective, 'factual' treatment of history. The transparent omniscient narrative where he is a quiet character, Chris, is objectified through the epilogue which is told by the first-person narrator. The epilogue steps out of pro-American position based on emotional links to the mother's persona and assumes an even-handed Chamorro position which substitutes for the mother. There he writes, for instance:

The sadness I feel for those who suffered injustice at the hands of the Japanese is deep, but I do not hate. The wanton bombing of the island by the Americans, especially the city of Agana, which had to be bulldozed to restore any semblance of order, to the extent that the old Spanish bridge now only points to where a river once existed, is to me equally unjust. (88)

Moreover in this text, as in South Sea stories by Western writers such as Stevenson, Becke, London, and Maugham, it is the colonisers that take on 'savagery', instead of the islanders.

Fantastic dreams of interracial marriage (having an innocent Polynesian beauty devoting herself to her husband; and gaining a rise in social standing and secure living owing to a white husband) are shuttered for the male coloniser's convenience, leading to decline of the female colonised – this colonial 'tragedy' of transracial marriage is subverted in those Western anti-romantic stories, either with evident sarcasm or with tragic calamities visiting both of the colonial couple (see Chapter 7). Yet *Mariquita* reproduces the typical colonial

trope – a happy marriage between a white man and an indigenous woman, their reluctant painful separation, and her tragic death – a pattern depicted in Loti's works and so on. Furthermore a variation of colonial illusions is developed in the text: the colonised (Guamanians) admire the domination and assimilation by the coloniser (Americans), and the Western civilisation (the US) delivers good natives (Guam) from evil savages (Japan). Colonial liberation discourse of Spanish Catholicism is taken over and transformed by that of US militarism.

The traditional theme of 'miserable native women', which Perez Howard dramatises, has been rewritten in Japanese postcolonial texts. The gist of his story consists in publicising Guamanian history as voices of Chamorros and the survival of Chamorro culture as well as emphasising his mother's miserable death. Indeed Mariquita, culturally blended and full of valour, is not an archetypal unadulterated South Sea girl as fairylike Fayaway in *Typee* or feeble Rarahu in *Le Mariage de Loti*. In this sense, Mariquita is akin to postcolonial Pacific girls who are not daunted by colonial or local authorities and outwit them, such as Mariyan in Atsushi Nakajima's 'Mariyan' (1942) and Emeliana in Natsuki Ikezawa's *Mashiasu Giri no Shikkyaku* (The Downfall of Macías Gilly, 1993). However, as seen in Chapter 9, unlike *Mariquita* or Stevenson's 'The Beach of Falesá', Japanese postcolonial texts do not focus on 'miserable native women', which is a familiar and unpleasant theme to the Japanese through Western Orientalist works such as *Madame Chrysanthème* and *Madame Butterfly*.

On the other hand, those Japanese texts have in common with *Mariquita* critical attitudes towards the Japanese Imperial Forces. In contemporary Japanese postcolonial texts, elderly characters, survivors of the Pacific War, play a metonymic role figuring the military Forces. As such, figures like Shinmyo in Koji Tanaka's *Chiisaki Kami no Shimajima* (The Small Islands of God, 1981) and Kakizaki in Nobuhiko Kobayashi's *Sekai de Ichiban Atsui Shima* (The hottest island in the world, 1991) are both doomed to death, despite their widely different characters. Shinmyo, a sensible, faithful gentleman and itinerant in Micronesia for the Japanese war dead, has to be killed in an accident during his

diving in Truk, just as Kakizaki, an offensively selfish Nanyo-broker, is killed by the Micronesian local police for joining in a popular coup d'état. Kobayashi's text, however, is more complicated than Tanaka's and Perez Howard's. Kakizaki's traditional fighting spirit, which disgusts the Japanese younger protagonist, receives a rapturous reception from Micronesian youths who form the kernel of the coup which is to be destroyed by the pro-American dictatorial government.

Perez Howard's and Kobayashi's texts indicate significant differences of post/colonial Micronesia from Polynesia. Which coloniser is better? – there is not such a question asked in Albert Wendt's or Epeli Hau'ofa's texts. They acknowledge that the dominant experience is different – there is only one generic Western coloniser to focus on. In the 'new South Pacific Society', as Hau'ofa points out, the local elite, and the colonial Anglo-Saxon elite from/in New Zealand, Australia, Canada, the US, and Britain form one general privileged group in 'a single regional economy' sharing 'a single dominant culture with increasingly marginalised local sub-cultures shared by the poorer classes' (1987, 1).

As suggested previously, Japanese colonial and neo-colonial discourses have been arguing that the Japanese were and are better and 'closer' patrons to Micronesians than the white rulers from Spain, Germany, and the US. Ikezawa shows the futility and self-deception of this argument in figurative manners in his works set in contemporary Micronesia. In his *Natsu no Asa no Seisoken* (The Stratosphere on a Summer Morning, 1984), the Japanese protagonist, Kimura, cast away and living on a desert island in the Marshalls, thinks himself to be more acceptable to island spirits than an American man, Myron, the only other habitant on the island. In contrast with Kimura, who is obliged to survive his 'primordial' collecting life, Myron is dependent on modern conveniences that he has taken into the island. Yet Kimura culminates in depending on them, no longer 'closer' to the spirits than Myron. In Ikezawa's *The Downfall of Macías Gilly*, the eponymous Micronesian protagonist, the president of a fictional Micronesian state, is heroic and adroit enough to sustain its independence without its being a puppet of its ex-colonising powers, Japan and the US.

However, one of the principle resources of his power is derived from his experiences in Japan: Gilly is more 'Japanised' than the Japanese, though not necessarily pro-Japanese. As in *Mariquita*, Japanisation and Americanisation also play a tug of war in the Japanese text. He has usurped presidency by assassinating the pro-American former president to prevent the nation from becoming degraded into a US puppet. Gilly, however, falls from power in the end because the proof of his order of the assassination is brought to light. It is a local traditional council system and inexplicable collective intelligence that curb Gilly's dictatorship conspiring with Japanese business power.

Shumon Miura depicts in his story 'Ponape-to' ('Ponape', 1957) set in Spanish-owned Ponape, Micronesia, the Ponapean protagonist who is so inured to being under the missionary patronage and colonial rule that he cannot live without depending on such colonial control (see Chapter 4). Such a habit of dependence of Micronesians, who have more than four hundred years' history of colonisation – much longer than that of Melanesians or Polynesians – is what Gilly strives to overcome in Ikezawa's work. Moreover *The Downfall of Macías Gilly* describes what 'real tough customers' the Micronesians are to counterattack colonial and local authorities without employing violence. However, the habit of dependence is described from a Micronesian standpoint itself in *Mariquita*, written in Guam where 'the "liberation" of the Chamorros by the Americans is memorialized annually by the island community': 'the "liberation" of the people is met with the people's gratitude, which is taken as an irrefutable sign of American patriotism' (Diaz 152).

Disputing the 'liberation'

Unlike *Mariquita*, Jesus Naputi's fiction *Nightmare Near the Kiosk* is a work which, in the author's words, 'attempts to bring to surface some points where historians disagree' (Naputi 'The Author's Note'). The story is set in Guam during the initial landing of the Imperial Forces of Japan. It places different fictional characters in the same factual place, a kiosk, which is 'still standing

after surviving the rampant Japanese Occupation' and is 'situated in Plaza de Espana serving many different functions of both government and private activities' ('Note'). The depiction of Guam in *Nightmare*, as in *Mariquita*, is based on opinions of ordinary people interviewed who annually commemorate the 'liberation' with their gratitude. Nevertheless, as will be explained below, these works are different in describing the 'American patriotism' of Guamanians, although Naputi does not particularly intend to 'demerit any established history' ('Note').

In Naputi's work, Pedro, a Guamanian Chamorro, is reluctantly convinced that he gave 'his body and soul' to the US Navy for 'the foolishness of sitting in the truck doing nothing except waiting for something to happen', when the Japanese Forces launch their attack on his home island (4). Indeed, the narrative's denunciation is made against the Japanese Imperial Forces: 'They throw babies up in the air and catch them coming down with their bayonets sticking up!' (27). Not only that, Pedro and the narrative also express distrust of US rule through criticism against the Chief, a 'myrmidon'. He, in Pedro's words, is 'afraid to fire at those planes in fear of giving them the exact location of the Governor's Palace' (7). And the Governor, a Captain in the US Navy, executes 'a decision tailored for us by Pentagon' although saying that he is 'very much a part of Guam' (33). The text is polyphonic. Angel, saying 'I'm an American by my belief', thinks that Americans will come back sometime: 'When they do, I'll be fighting side by side with them against the Japanese' (12). Pedro responds: 'You can forget about that. [...] I am a Chamorro and I believe Guam should be protected now. The Americans are here but won't let us fight against the merciless Japanese invaders. Hagatna and Sumay have been totally destroyed' (12). Pedro also says to the Chief:

"[...] Too bad the Chamorros have to suffer because the Americans and the Japanese have invented a war. See, the Chamorros have fled because the Americans failed to adequately train and properly arm them in order to counter the Japanese offense. I don't blame them, really. They have put up with the Insular Guard. Well, it failed,

and now they have to search for their displaced families.” (49)

As compared with *Mariquita*, *Nightmare Near the Kiosk* explicitly describes suspicion against the US: Chamorros’ suffering and fear during the war are attributed to the US indifferent and inappropriate control as well as Japan’s cruel invasion. The US, as Vincente Diaz, Pohnpeian/Filipino born and having been raised on Guam, also points out, ‘had already abandoned Guam to an imminent Japanese invasion’:

[...] indeed, the supposed “liberation” of the Chamorros three years later was only America’s return with a vengeance. This vengeful act was directed at Japan, but it was also aimed at establishing a huge forward base and depot from which to carry out America’s military operations in the Far East. The massive destruction of Guam by American bombardment and immediate postwar base construction would profoundly alter not only the remaining topography and cartography of Chamorro culture as it withstood three centuries of Spanish colonization; it would also radically transform the culture of the topography and the cartography of the land itself. (157)

Instead of Diaz’s presenting tales of Chamorro in which there is ‘no image of war-torn refugees liberated by American freedom fighters’ (Diaz 151), however, *Nightmare* just like *Mariquita* underscores ‘tragic Guam’ and ‘miserable Chamorros’, although unlike it, not glorifying their ‘liberation’. Both of the works also depict the Japanese typically as faceless, uncanny and diabolic.

Beyond anti-/pro-occupation

Storyboard: A Journal of Pacific Imagery, having appeared in print first in 1991, challenges those definitive fixed images of Guam and Japan. It is published annually, a joint venture of the Guam Writers Guild and the Division of English and Applied Linguistics at the University of Guam. It says in its editorial

statement of the first volume: 'To the present, there has been no outlet in Micronesia for the kind of writing which might earn a permanent place in Pacific literature. The rationale behind *Storyboard*, therefore, is to provide a vehicle for publication not only in English, but also in indigenous languages and the languages of the diverse immigrants who make their homes here. [...] We recognize that the imaginations of writers in the region are not bounded by geography, and we interpret our subtitle to include imagery *from* the Pacific as well as *of* the Pacific' (Lobban 9). The publication of the journal, a collection of miscellaneous local voices, is modelled after the movement of Polynesian and Melanesian postcolonial writing:

One does not have to dig too deeply to discover why there is an accumulated body of literature produced by Polynesians and Melanesians, but a dire lack of representative works from Micronesia. Support and encouragement. For at least three decades the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and the University of Papua New Guinea have encouraged the development of indigenous writers in the South Pacific through workshops, special training and emphasis on creative writing and finally by publishing the efforts of a number of writers. Unfortunately there has not been this kind of nurturing of indigenous writers in Micronesia. In an effort to end this kind of inequity *Storyboard* was created, [...]. (Talley 5)

Defying colonialist embedded perceptions of Chamorro people and culture as shattered, dying, or immutable, Vincente Diaz asserts as follows:

[...] Guam's history does not have to be understood as the definitive Euro-Americanization of the Chamorro people at the tragic expense of indigenous culture. Nor does Chamorro culture need to be understood in terms of an immutably bounded, neatly contained thing that was once upon a time characterized by essential qualities, pure and untainted, as Chamorro culture has (a)historically been conceived and represented. (143)

Such an intention of Diaz to establish a Chamorro identity that is culturally decolonised is resonant in *Storyboard*. Four poems ('Fanoghe Chamoru', 'Forefathers', 'Halom Tano', and 'Thieves') by Anne Perez Hattori object to conventional (negative) images and historiography on Guam which have been upheld by colonial and patriarchal authorities. 'Fanoghe Chamoru', the Chamorro title meaning 'Stand Chamorros', also the title of Guam's anthem, presents a lofty national image of 'sunshine' ('Celestial crimson, / Sublime scarlet, / Religious rays of ruby REDness, / Arouse my alienated allegiance.') with 'fresh-found fortitude' to withstand 'sleep', 'exhaustion' and 'fatigue'. 'Forefathers', the second poem, objects to Guamanian historiography filled with sexual and colonial suppression rendering 'our foreFathers' 'everything / or something / or even anything / to us, / Chamorro natives'. They are ('like washington and jefferson and franklin lincoln') 'our historical superHEroes', 'gentleMEN', 'or so We've been educated, / again and again'. But Hattori refutes the accepted idea, saying that it is not they but 'us, Chamorro natives' that 'work the soil, / ride the sea, / inhale our exhalations, / and inherit the land / immortally':

did they plant *suní* [taro] and pick *lemmai* [breadfruit]
and beseech the blessings of *guelas yan guelus* [female and male ancestral spirits]
under the sweltering sun of latitude 14?

In 'Halom Tano', Perez Hattori describes *halom tano* (the jungle) as the locale and symbol of Chamorro culture's survival (which is also the main theme of Diaz's article):

years have passed and the jungle's still there
[...]
despite the military's invasion of our land,
the pigs still play and the *binadu* [deer] still bark
[...] and all

the jungle's still there.
forever filled with sheltering spirits
forever calling me home.

Lastly, in 'Thieves', an enumeration of colonialist stereotypes and clichés such as 'thieves', 'immoral', 'half-caste', 'infantile', 'illiteracy', and 'laziness' ('UNeducated, UNdeveloped, UNCivilized') – is concluded by denunciation of colonialist opportunism:

Now they tell us
we are simply, sadly, contemptibly
OVER-developed
OVER-modernized
OVER-theologized
OVER-Americanized.

UNDER-Chamoricized

Such a postcolonial voice as Diaz and Hattori express, which is not given to Mariquita in Howard's work, can be seen in common in Albert Wendt's and Epeli Hau'ofa's works and is also uttered by Macías Gilly, Natsuki Ikezawa's Micronesian protagonist. Furthermore, Diaz thinks highly of Chamorro women as responsible for indigenous survival and revival:

Local Chamorro women – patronized and stereotyped as "pretty Chamorro girls" – marry non-Chamorro men and produce Chamorro children. A powerful tradition of "motherhood," locally called *Si Nana*, was responsible for the survival and revival of Chamorro families, or the *familia*, through what is called *custumbren Chamorro*. (Diaz 163)

This 'motherhood' is not only a haunt of Orientalist discourses but also a

producing centre of postcolonial resistance to them, as indicated in Mariquita (Chris's mother) potentially, and Emeliana (Gilly's mother) articulately. Local women's Spanish, American, Chinese, or Japanese surnames ('Hattori' is a Japanese surname) 'do not mark the limits of Chamorro cultural survival' (Diaz 163).

It may be said that as a new Pacific writing journal, the Micronesian journal *Storyboard* is distinguished by its close relation to and dealing with Japanese elements. Especially the thematic focus for the third volume is on 'the invasion of Guam and Saipan by US military forces to oust the Japanese occupiers of the islands at the close of World War II', associated with its fiftieth anniversary (Martin 7). Its General Editor James Martin maintains that '[t]he destinies of Japan and of many of the Pacific islands are intertwined historically, economically, and culturally' (8). And notably the expulsion of the Japanese Forces from Guam and Saipan by the US is perceived not as 'liberation' but as another 'invasion' in *Storyboard*. The volume does not re-present stereotyped images of the Japanese in war literature as bloodthirsty invaders, daredevil suicide attackers, and rapists as in *Mariquita* and *Nightmare Near the Kiosk* or James Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* and David Divine's *The King of Fassarai* (see Chapter 8). For example, Zan Bockes's poem 'Banzai Cliff, Saipan' portrays the image of the mass suicide by Japanese civilians and military, although it is another stereotype:

To give your life
for the freedom of death,
for a pride no American
can understand – this was your gift.
Your descendents have left prayers
in these bushes where your feet
stumbled, left hope
that you or I would never
bloody this shore again. (9)

It is important to keep in mind significant internal differences within any construction of 'Micronesian literature'.

Voices from the former Japanese-mandated territory

On Micronesian views of the Japanese, Dirk Ballendorf and Wakako Higuchi point out the overall pro-Japanese feelings of Micronesians, especially Palauans, ever since the period of Japan's mandatory administration. Palau, once the centre of Japanese-owned Micronesia since the Nanyo-cho (South Seas Government) was established in Koror in 1922, is still most influenced by prewar 'Japanisation' in the area despite its postwar 'Americanisation'. Ballendorf asserts in 1982 that '[w]hile Micronesia is politically under the sphere of the United States, it is undoubtedly under the economic sphere of Japan' (1982, 13). '[T]he Japanese provided very sound models of industry and hard work to Palauans which [...] stood Palauans in good stead today in a more competitive world. The Japanese presence was the reason [...] why the Palauans today are considered to be among the most vigorous and determined of the "new" Micronesians' (Ballendorf 1984, 9). Such pro-Japanese discourse by Micronesians is closely related to their discontent with the US administration. Ballendorf says: 'Micronesians who are in the midst of formulating criticism of the U.S. presence are fond of saying that they were "better off" in the Japanese times when at least everyone could work for money, rather than it is nowadays when unemployment and underemployment is rife, returning college graduates cannot find jobs, and various social ills abound' (1984, 11). Higuchi also asserts: 'Viewed from an island angle, there is a saying which symbolized Japanese policy toward islanders and related their fundamental attitude toward both the Japanese and American administrative period – "Japan had kindness to do many things for the islanders but American did nothing except give some money"' (1987, 189). Just as for Guamanians, as seen in *Mariquita* and *Nightmare Near the Kiosk*, the Japanese are 'newcome' destroyers of more than

forty years' secure US rule, so for Palauans, Americans are 'newcome' rulers to demolish what the Japanese built up for about thirty years.

Those images of pre- and postwar Micronesians that the scholars present as elderly people longing for former Japanese rule and speaking fluent Japanese and younger people interested in learning Japanese – offering great homage to the Japanese ('very competent businessmen and serious developers' [Ballendorf 1982, 13]), enjoying 'the Japanese life style of eating rice and misosoup', and regarding themselves as His Majesty's children like Japanese nationals in Japan (Higuchi 1993, 12, 19) – these mirrored images of Japanese neo-/colonialist views of Micronesians are used and twisted in Nobuhiko Kobayashi's *The Hottest Island in the World* (1991) and Natsuki Ikezawa's *The Downfall of Macías Gilly* (1993), as was seen in Chapter 9. In Japanese postwar texts on Micronesia, colonialism, neo-colonialism and postcolonialism coexist and interrelate with one another, influenced by Micronesian views of the Japanese: *Godzilla's* criticism of modern civilisation and the Cold War, inducing identification of the Pacific monster and the Japanese as the same US bomb victims, is transformed in 1980s texts such as Koji Tanaka's *The Small Islands of God*, Natsuki Ikezawa's *The Stratosphere on a Summer Morning*, and Man Arai's *The Sunset Beach Hotel*. These texts severely critique US and Japanese military and economic colonialism and Orientalism, challenging the ideology of 'sameness'. In the texts, however, Micronesia is both a victim and counterattacker just like *Godzilla*. These images of the Japanese as 'assailants' and of Micronesians as victims also resonate in Chris Perez Howard's and Jesus Naputi's texts in the 1980s. In Kobayashi's and Ikezawa's 1990s texts, Micronesians are imaged no longer merely as victims: their affinity towards Japanese traditional culture and spirit, respect for Japan's economic development and criticism of Japanese militarism, economic colonialism, tourism and Nanyo-Orientalism are depicted simultaneously. Guam's former self-image as a victim of Euro-Americanisation and Japan's intrusion gives place to new self-determination also in 1990s literary discourse uttered from within Guam. Under such circumstances, what change of self-images and views

of the Japanese will occur and what literary discourse will be produced in the 'new' decolonised Micronesia from now on?

Chapter 12

'Japanese Identities' from Hawai'i

Hawai'i's complex dynamics and 'Japanese American cultures'

This chapter's topic is representations and creation of 'Japanese identities' by contemporary writers from Hawai'i, mainly in the 1980s and 1990s. To what extent are Japanese colonialism and postcolonialism reflected in their works? How different/identical are those writers' texts and Japanese contemporary texts on the Pacific?

In sympathy with Polynesian writers, those 'local' writers represent themselves, their representations appropriating and transforming non-local vision of the 'South Pacific' by outsiders such as settlers, tourists and explorers. Among those writers who grew up in Hawai'i, writers of Asian ethnicity have been taking the initiative of such decolonising resistance. Rob Wilson points out:

Until the rise of decolonizing literature in the Pacific during the late 1960s in Papua New Guinea and Maori New Zealand, and in the 1970s as centered around the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and writers like Albert Wendt, Subramani, Patricia Grace and Vilsoni Hereniko, various genres of Western discourse coordinated, fantasized, and measured the cultures of the Pacific. [...] a literature of the Asian Pacific community of Hawaii did not emerge until the late 1970s and is still coming into self-conscious expression. (370)

Using vernacular words like 'haole' (white folk) and 'pidgin' in their works, the

local Asian writers are tied to each other as 'non-haole'. In Darrell Lum's words, '[t]he literature of local writers has a distinct sensitivity to ethnicity, the environment (in particular that valuable commodity, the land), a sense of personal lineage and family history, and use of the sound, the languages, and the vocabulary of island people' (4). This unity also rests on a shared plantation past which their ancestors experienced. Lois-Ann Yamanaka, a Japanese writer from Hawai'i, says, 'I write in the pidgin of the contract workers to the sugar plantations here in Hawaii, a voice of eighteenth-century Hawaii passed down to now third- and fourth-generation descendants of various ethnic groups. Our language has been labeled the language of ignorant people, substandard, and inappropriate in any form of expression – written or oral. . . . [...] I was encouraged to write in the voice of my place without shame or fear' (Hagedorn 544). Eric Chock capsulates 'modern Hawaiian literature' into the words 'a shared sense of belonging and identity' expressed by Hawai'i people (7). He claims 'pidgin' as authentic local speech:

It is no secret that language has always been a crucial factor in Hawaii's history. It is no secret that the so-called "blending of cultures" often manifested itself in a clash of languages, sometimes in a competition for sovereignty. It's no secret that our own government, through its various organs, has attempted to suppress varying forms of languages in favor of one common language. And that ain't pidgin they talking about. (7)

It is asserted that 'the very success and strength of pidgin in literature should lead to the development of heroic works in pidgin' (while there is criticism of using pidgin in Hawai'i's literatures, that it 'badly limits and weakens the literature's appeal to wider audiences') (Sumida 101). As Stephen Sumida suggests, the situation of Hawai'i's Asian Americans, who 'may seem still lack deep historical roots in the islands', is paradoxical:

While people outside the Asian American groups tend to venerate the antiquity of

what is presumed to be these people's Asian cultural heritage, this same veneration tends to ignore or belittle contemporary Asian *American* cultures. It thus contributes to a denial that such cultures, quite distinct from Asian ones, have been developing for more than four generations in Hawai'i and elsewhere in America. (91)

In Hawai'i, assertion of ethnicity is not necessarily a decolonising movement. It could be insertion into the mainstream at the expense of decolonisation. In this complex dynamics of Hawai'i, its local Asian writers attempt to highlight, animate, and re-create such contemporary Asian *American* cultures, which are based on plantations. Scarcely any Hawai'i writers today 'turn frequently and directly to "the traditions and languages" of "Asia rather than to those of America and Europe" in order to work "within their own environment" and "to tell the story of their homeland"' (Sumida 107).

On the other hand, Asians, as well as 'haole' people, are 'others' to native Hawaiians. In fighting a radical assertion of different 'island' identity against US mainland and mainstream culture, Hawaiians of Japanese and Chinese extraction have often worked into the 'Asian-American' context (and indeed largely supported Statehood). So while they have usefully asserted local identity and developed 'pidgin' as a viable literary language, they have not always had the general effect of supporting the expression and political rights of native Hawaiians. There is now native Hawaiian literature as opposed to 'local' (hybrid islander) one. The native Hawaiian writer Haunani-Kay Trask asserts:

Contemporary writers who claim, through generational residence in Hawai'i, that they are Hawaiian or representative of what would be a unique national literature of Hawai'i, if we were an independent country, confuse the development and identification of our indigenous literature. Asian writers who grew up in Hawai'i and claim their work as representative of Hawaiian literature or of our islands are the most obvious example. [...]

Despite their denials and confusions, Asians in Hawai'i are immigrants whose ancestors came from Asia. They represent an amalgam of immigrant cultures,

sometimes called “local” in our islands. Obviously, they are not Hawaiian, nor can our culture suddenly become theirs through the use of Hawaiian words, expressions of Hawaiian spiritual values, or participation in *nāmea Hawai‘i* (“things Hawaiian,” such as hula, purification rituals, etc.). Neither length of residency nor occasional use of our language transforms non-Natives into Hawaiians. (1999b, 169)

Because of their ‘identity theft’ or ‘falsification of place and culture’, she insists, ‘contrary to most contemporary Hawaiian work, Asian writing is not counter-hegemonic; it is not particularly critical of the dominant literary culture or canon’ (Trask 1999b, 170). She also asserts on any local Asian writers’ works that the ‘celebration of pidgin English becomes a gloss for the absence of authentic sounds and authentic voices’ (1999b, 170). As seen later, the local ‘immigrant identities’ of Hawai‘i’s Japanese, both different and identical to ‘Japanese’, ‘mainland Japanese-Americans’, ‘mainland Americans’, ‘local haoles’, and ‘Native Hawaiians’, are marked by self-division or even self-abhorrence and split between the coloniser and colonised. Trask describes in her poem ‘Dispossessions of Empire’ the Japanese as imperialists equal to Americans, rather than the same Americanised non-haoles as other Pacific peoples:

Aku boats lazing
on the aqua horizon;
waves of morning, a seawind
sun, salt hanging

in the steamy Kona
glare, lava black shore
rippling along rocky
outcrops, porous with *loli*.

Slow-footed Hawaiians
amidst flaunting

foreigners: rich

Americans. richer

Japanese, smelling

of greasy perfume,

tanning with the stench

of empire. (1999a, 20-21)

Trask's awareness of the Japanese as neo-colonialists ranking with Americans bears a close resemblance to contemporary Japanese writers' postcolonial self-awareness (see Chapter 9).

The decolonisation of Hawaiian literature rests on a foundation of native resistance which can be dated to the planters' revolt of 1893 but which gathered political and cultural force from the 1970s. Trask points out that the national political and cultural movement's growth 'was preceded by a fundamental transformation in Hawai'i's economy' and also suggests the shift from plantation to military power after 'Pearl Harbour':

From dependence on cash crops of sugar and pineapple, and on military expenditures in the first half of the 20th century, Hawai'i's economy shifted to an increasing dependence on tourism and land speculation with rising investment by multi-national corporations in the second half of the century. (1987, 163)

This economic shift highlights differences between Japanese tourists and local Japanese Hawaiians. It also allows nostalgia for the now 'old' plantation days of heroic labour, influencing the formation of the 'local' identity of 'plantation peasant' seen in Hawai'i's contemporary Asian writers' works. They depict the 'Japanese' not only as oppressors of native Hawaiians and other Asians as in Trask's poem but also as oppressed by the white or Western culture.

The early work in which the representation of 'Japanese identities' in Hawai'i is condensed is Milton Murayama's *All I Asking for Is My Body*

(published as a complete novel in 1975) and O. A. Bushnell's *The Stone of Kannon* (1979). In these works, the Japanese immigrants are wretched under the plantation system and its 'haole' colonists' rule. However, those works do not depict the Japanese as oppressors towards other Asian/Pacific people or rebels against American colonialists. Rather than denouncing various Japanese/American authorities, the texts lay more stress on building a new worker community that still preserves ethnic cultural values. They also emphasise those people's ties between and beyond generations despite their conflicts. Stephen Sumida points out that *All I Asking for Is My Body*

rests finally on a moral truth that evidently is not commonplace when applied to the ethnic groups and their situations in this novel. The usual misreading of the novel lies in a stereotypical, shallow – and racist – assumption that the American son must triumph over his immigrant parents in a war between their respective cultures, especially when these cultures are supposedly as incompatible as the Japanese and the American, and especially when the Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor near the novel's end. This misreading is based on notions about "assimilation," whereas to the contrary the novel's local-boy protagonist Kiyo mocks those nisei who try to be "haolefied," to imitate white people. The novel's true import rests not on such generalizations about cultures and nationalities but in a radically different, humane way of viewing relationships between its issei and nisei generations and envisioning the Japanese *American* culture they share. (115-116)

Bushnell is a Hawai'i-born, third-generation descendant of a mix of European immigrants to Hawai'i including Portugese and Norwegians. He attempts in *The Stone of Kannon* to tell the story of the Gannen Mono, the First-year Men, the first Japanese to arrive in Hawai'i in 1868 (the first year of the Emperor Meiji) to work on the sugar plantations. He writes in the preface: 'If you are wondering why a writer who cannot claim a Japanese ancestor is telling this story, the answer is both simple and saddening: no novelist of Japanese ancestry has yet done so' (vii). From this standpoint of the 'other', Bushnell also

assumes and values what the Japanese immigrants and their American descendants share, instead of emphasising the conflicts between the two sides:

Even though few Gannen Mono could read or write, all had been taught the virtues that count in the shaping of a man. Those important virtues of *on*, *giri*, and *gimu* – in other words, the values of loyalty, gratitude, obligation, honor, courtesy, and industry – have enriched the lives of all of us who have grown up in the Hawaii the settlers from Japan and their descendants have helped to make. (ix)

Such local non-native consciousness of ‘Japanese American cultures’ is not based on postcolonial critique of the Japanese as colonisers. It is more concerned with filling the gaps in the national ‘melting pot’ story.

‘Japanese diaspora identities’ and Asia/Pacific

Despite these early influential works, there is a shift in representations of ‘Japanese identities’ in 1980s and 1990s works by Hawai‘i’s writers. The rest of this chapter will use Hawai‘i’s novels and collected stories and poems published from the 1980s that take up the ‘Japanese’. First we will see works by Gary Pak and Chris McKinney, which emphasise the involvement of Japanese imperialism and ‘Japanese diaspora identities’ in Asia/Pacific subjects rather than local/metropolitan haole subjects. Next, works by Japanese-Hawaiian writers (Jessica Saiki, Marie Hara, Juliet Kono, Lois-Ann Yamanaka, and Milton Murayama) will be examined, in which resistance against and reconciliation with American/Japanese authorities are mainly focused on.

The above-mentioned doubleness of Japanese oppressors and oppressed is more clearly seen in Gary Pak’s *The Watcher of Waipuna and Other Stories* (1992). In the stories, he expresses postcolonial complexities in Hawai‘i with native Hawaiian, Japanese, and haole characters. He does not concentrate on Korean characters or telling Korean histories. The Japanese as the coloniser opposing, and conspiring with, haole, and the Japanese immigrants (and their

descendants) as the colonised, joint strugglers with native Hawaiians against haole, play important roles in the stories.

In 'The Watcher of Waipuna', a retarded Hawaiian, Gilbert Sanchez, takes over the role of 'the watcher of Waipuna' from a 'half-crazy' Japanese old man, Nakakura. The latter has been vigilant against 'the frogmen who had come to Waipuna from the ocean during the War and were now hiding in the dense mangrove forest along the coast, some forty-plus years after the Big Surrender' (Pak 1992, 21). Besides these vestiges of Japanese military colonialism, this story also depicts envoys of new economic colonialism of Japan. Japanese businessmen furnish funds for haole counterparts who attempt to buy Sanchez's property with an eye to a quick profit. These marginalised Japanese immigrant and native Hawaiian form a united front against those old and new colonial inroads. In 'The Trial of Goro Fukushima', a Japanese gardener is wrongly executed for murder of the wife of the plantation manager. Unable to speak English, this Japanese boy is enigmatic for haole people, who think that 'behind Goro's always courteous smile a dark evil had been hidden' (98). This story describes the highhanded white and wretched coloured, using a Japanese boy as the latter. People of 'mixed blood' (*hapa*) show their sympathy for Goro, yet not struggling to save his life. They make a non-haole minority together with the Japanese, serving the local haole hegemony but being suspicious of it. In 'The Garden of Jiro Tanaka', a Japanese retired park keeper, Tanaka, finds in his garden a beautiful plant playing music, with a ripened fruit which is 'soft and cool' and has 'the smell of the ocean'. Long hoping for grandchildren, this 'tired old man near the end of a comfortable yet uneventful and meaningless life' (168) can dream of playing with children every night because of the fruit epitomising the 'tropical Pacific' or 'Hawai'i'. Tanaka, having lived under haole control as a dependent on handouts from white economy, finds himself deeply connected to the plant, or the Hawaiian land, and unable to do without it. When it wilts, he is troubled by a nightmare of a tempest, and it recovers not by any artificial ways like manure or fertiliser but only through a natural rainfall. This nisei's experience of transition from a routinely 'Japanese-like' life to a new phase of

unshackled 'native' modes is a process of obtaining a 'Japanese Hawaiian' identity.

These erratic 'Japanese identities' created in Japanese relationships to people (natives and haole) and nature in Hawai'i are re-viewed from a Korean immigrant viewpoint in Pak's novel *A Ricepaper Airplane* (1998). A Korean old man, Uncle Sung Wha, who dreams of returning to Korea, tells a Korean youth, Yong Gil, who grew up in Hawai'i, his own experience in Japanese-ruled Korea and Manchuria, Japan, China, and Hawai'i as 'history'. This story is also Sung Wha's dying words. He says:

"No forget what I telling you, Yong Gil. Dis is history. Dis is what happen in da past. [...] No make forget, like how da haoles trying make us forget everything what was like befo'. Dey trying brainwash everybody, tell us how lucky live here, lucky come Hawai'i, lucky live in America, all dat bullshit. Dose buggahs, dem stay changing what really wen happen every time dem write and rewrite one history book. [...] Dose Indians, dem should let them Pilgrims starve. (Pak 1998, 25)

For the Korean, who had been oppressed both in Korea and a plantation in Hawai'i, there is not 'any difference between the American and the Japanese way of enslavement' (218), just as seen in Trask's poem. American and Japanese imperialisms are both the targets of resistance not by 'bullets' but by 'words':

"[...] I tell you, Yong Gil, nobody can tell one story like da people from our village. And das one truth. Yo' *harabagi* – my uncle, my *ajisi* – he da spokeperson fo' da entire village. Da Japanee come into da village and yo' *harabagi* go make da kine fantastic-kine stories, he tell dem. And dem Japanee believe! Dem believe everything what yo' *harabagi* tell dem, no matter haw fantastic da story.

"[...] He can fool anybody. If he living today, dey call him one good actor. Like Gary Cooper. Or Charlie Chaplin. Maybe even mo' bettah dan dem. [...]" (240-241)

Postcoloniality is, in this book, based on the idea of 'cleaving to colonial

power in order to cleave from it' (to borrow Elleke Boehmer's term 'cleaving' [104-111]) as in any other anti-colonial nationalist text. Yet Pak's text shows that Korean nationalism's peculiarity stems from Japanese modernisation and imperialism: Japan, culturally colonised by the West, modernised itself not directly through Western languages and cultures but through translating them into Japanese and Japanised its colonised people, viewing them as the 'potential' Japanese. Pak writes: 'Though we hate the Japanese, a good many things come from Japan that are helping our movement. [...] These books are important. They are written by the Great Russian revolutionaries. Until the time comes when they can be translated into Korean, we'll have to read these Japanese translations' (139).

For Korean immigrants, Japanese workers are not acceptable simply as the same plantation labourers ruled by haoles: 'All da Koreans in da plantation wen get all worked up dey hear dis. Dey break dey hoe handles and attack da Japanee workers. Was one big, big fight. Korean . . . dey nevah da Japanee, even dey come same-same boat ovah heah' (178). Criticism is also levelled at Korean elders, teachers, and *yangban* (the upper privileged classes), who are 'just as bad and cruel as the Japanese, perhaps even worse' (66), and 'ourselves':

We're a colony of Japan, do you understand that? We Koreans still have our faces and our souls now, but soon, if this is to continue, we'll be Koreans in face only. Our insides will be Japanese. Then, instead of rebelling against the Japanese, our insides will rebel against our outside. We'll be rebelling against ourselves. Do you understand what I'm saying? And for some Koreans that's what's happening right now! (123)

However, just as in Korea certain 'benefits' of Japanese invasion are admitted, in Hawai'i, individual differences begin to break up collective ones:

But dis guy, dis schoolteacher – I think his name Wata-something, Watanabe, or something li'dat, I forget – but anyway, dis schoolteacher, somehow I feel he okay. He

no look like beat you up, treat you bad, da kine dey had all ovah Korea. Later on. on da plantation, I meet plenny Japanee, but almost everyone, dey jus' come from Japan: dey young, dey really no like what dey government doing in Korea. But was real strange find one guy like da schoolteacher dat time 'cause I thinking all Japanee, no matter what, dey all da same, dey all lousy and all like boss you 'round, steal yo' things. (174-175)

Shared politics can also overcome racial/cultural differences:

And how's my old friend Yamamura, that anarchist? One of a few Japanese whom I trust. I owe my life to him. Don't have the money to pay him back, but I'll give it back later. That's a promise. I will. He understands. He knows we revolutionaries are poor. But yes, I should stop in Japan, where my good friend will welcome and feed me. He'll make a bed for me. And then off I'll go, flying to Korea.
(241)

Insofar as the novel deals with the anguish and survival of Korean culture and morale (symbolised as a 'tiger') under imperial authorities, it is similar to Pacific writing by indigenous writers. Such strong assertion of national identities is not to be seen in contemporary Japanese works on Micronesia or the works from Hawai'i that will be mentioned later. Yet Pak's works mentioned above are akin to those Japanese works in that they represent the Pacific islands as a locale of dreams, adventures, homicide, flight, or unusual incidents (though not an Edenic utopia or cannibal world) registered amongst a group of people themselves unusual for being a migrant minority. They do not portray islanders' everyday life as in, for example, Albert Wendt's and Epeli Hau'ofa's works.

The Tattoo (1999), by Chris McKinney, who is of Korean, Japanese, and Scottish descent, operates in the same manner. The Japanese protagonist, Ken, who killed his father to protect his half-Korean and half-haole wife, Claudia, tells his life story in prison while being tattooed by his mute haole cellmate with

a Chinese character which means 'the void' or 'emptiness'. This tattoo artist says to himself:

Sure, if you take all the pidgin out, exchange Ken with some white guy from West Virginia, then there'd be an audience. But Ken was Japanese and brought up in "paradise." Paradise was never the compelling setting unless it was falling or lost.
(McKinney 80)

Here the text paradoxically distinguishes itself from 'normal' English texts by its language, setting, and ethnically marked characters.

The text first establishes ludicrous and grotesque stereotyped 'Japan' associated with the protagonist: first of all, the title 'tattoo'. The protagonist's name is Kenji 'Ken' Hideyoshi ('ken' means 'sword'; Hideyoshi is the first [not last] name of the most powerful feudal lord in the late sixteenth century). His ultra-nationalist grandfather idealises the Edo period as the time in which Western people and cultures were expelled (a conception based on the wrong understanding of the period). Ken has a 'samurai'-like rigorous father and a 'musume'-like beautiful mother. The text also uses Momotaro (one of the most popular figures of Japanese folktales), *Abarenbo Shogun* (a popular Japanese TV drama on *shogun* Yoshimune, not Yoshitsune, another historic figure, as said in the text), and Musashi Miyamoto (one of the greatest swordsmen). The text also has characters typically identified with American and Japanese imperialism: a native Hawaiian playing a role of mediator for Ken, an 'outsider', to be 'somebody' respected in Hawai'i, not 'just a Jap' as in the US mainland (133). This native Hawaiian hates haoles, who had 'taken his land' and 'killed his culture' or 'his humanity' (63). Also appears a Korean immigrant, Ken's mother-in-law, the proprietor of a strip bar and former 'comfort woman' of the Japanese Army.

The text attempts to divorce a stereotyped image of 'samurai' from Japanese imperialism/nationalism. Ken, a modern *samurai*, whose hero is Musashi, has violent Japanese looks, reminding old Koreans of the Japanese

occupation of Korea. He kills three Koreans whom Claudia's mother sent to him to hamper his marriage to Claudia, one of them her cousin, the namesake of her great-grandfather, symbolising for her the Korean survival of Japanese occupation and civil war. After facing the suicide of his Hawaiian friend, Ken also kills his father, who, hating both haoles and Koreans, always wages the 'race-war' with Claudia. In eradicating those 'pure' 'authentic' nationalist Korean, Hawaiian, and Japanese, and Ken's parting with his wife and baby, the text re-presents and beautifies an image of *samurai* as an anti-authoritarian subject emblematised by the tattoo of '空' on his back, which epitomises Musashi's mystique of swordsmanship. Ken's *samurai* persona differs from tradition in that by virtue of being Hawaiian, he delivers this pre-modern mystique from its modern image of the imperial Japan's morale. This persona also represents a void left by historical, cultural, ethnic conflicts in Hawai'i, a void as new local identity produced by and separated from such conflicts.

Resistance and reconciliation in Japanese-Hawaiian complexity

Works in the 1980s-1990s by Japanese writers from Hawai'i, Jessica Saiki, Marie Hara, Juliet Kono, Lois-Ann Yamanaka, and Milton Murayama, focus on ordinary people's, not uneventful, but everyday lives. Nevertheless, those works share with contemporary Japanese writings on the Pacific some traits of 'Japanese postcoloniality': there is a critique of both Western (US) and Japanese neo/colonialism and racism, realisation of not belonging to the islands and of the difficulty in going native, local Japanese identity not being congruous with a 'traditional' Japan associated with militarism, patriarchy and ultra-nationalism. The double ambivalence to the West and Asia/Pacific in Japanese imperialism is lasting and depicted in the works from Japan and Hawai'i.

Most of the earlier 'migrant' or 'local' writing is by men and centres on male. From the 1970s, gender consciousness has appeared in such writing. Jessica Saiki's collections of short stories *Once, A Lotus Garden* (1987) and *From the Lanai and Other Hawaii Stories* (1991) and Marie Hara's *Bananaheart &*

Other Stories (1994) specify problems of the 'Japanese' in Hawai'i from points of view of ordinary Japanese women from Hawai'i. Hara's 'Honeymoon Hotel, 1895' depicts what is called 'picture brides', young Japanese women who come to Hawai'i by command of their parents to marry plantation workers from the same province, whom they know only by photos.

Resigning herself to the situation, Sono tasted her disappointment without self-pity. [...] Luck was not to be Sono's domain, and untested expectations were always a mistake. [...] If there was enough food to eat, enough clothing to wear, enough fuel for warmth and enough family to gather around in enjoyment of a pleasant evening, that was enough for her lot in life. [...] She could hear the voices of the women in her clan reminding her to be thankful that her widowed mother had one less mouth to feed. (Hara 13)

The writers sarcastically show in their stories how obedient, persevering, resigned women, as defined by the Orientalist image of *musume*, change in Hawai'i, how different their descendants are from them, and how intricate their relations are. In Saiki's 'The Old Ways', aged Japanese women long for 'the ways of their parents in Japan', feeling incongruous and regretting the American ways of their children and grandchildren in their love of coiffures, cars, English names, dancing, and so on. On the other hand, the old women are also aware of other Japanese immigrants who attempted to live again the old ways in Japan but return to the islands after a while: 'they were too used to things here True what people say, "Lucky come Hawaii"' (Saiki 1987, 25). In the end,

old country thoughts, like re-touched studio photographs represented only the best, Sunday clothes. Distance of time and place made them appear more beautiful than they were. (1987, 26)

Despite such differences due to generation/place, racism towards and by the Japanese is invariable. In Saiki's 'Windows', a white child invites her

Japanese friend to her home, saying to her: 'if anyone should ask you tomorrow, say you're only *half*-Japanese, okay?' (1987, 28). For the white girl's grandmother, 'half-haole and half-Japanese' (*hapa*) children are 'altogether different' from 'squinty eyed' children, whom she does not want her granddaughter to play with. Conversely, to a Japanese mother who was born and raised in Hawai'i and lives in the American mainland, and her 'hapa' daughter, Hawai'i seems to be 'the tropical Eden' ('Hapa Hapa/Half and Half', Saiki 1987). The girl actually can make some friends in her Hawai'i school, but her neighbour girls, Japanese sisters, who giggle to her with 'the dreadful word "hapa"' and throw stones at a crippled mutt, are cold devils spoiling the 'paradise' for her. Hara expresses such unjust bias in a humorous way:

.I wondered idly what you would have to do to get such fierce wrinkles. O-Baban, almost ninety, didn't seem to have so many of them. Did you have to be *haole* to shrivel so much? Would half of me shrivel while the other half stayed tight? Would I wrinkle from head to waist or feet to waist? Or would it be the right half or the left half? They said I was *hapa*. Which half would turn *haole*? ('The Gift', 86-87)

Such Japanese racism is aimed not only at 'hapa' and 'gaijin' or foreign people. Saiki's 'Once, a Lotus Garden' also indicates that it is levelled at Okinawans (Saiki 1987).

Saiki also draws attention to relations between 'haole' men and Japanese women, a difference of the consciousness of the mainland/local 'haoles' towards the Japanese, and a relationship between a Japanese local man and a Japanese national woman. In 'Oribu' set in Hawai'i in 1946, a Japanese couple and their daughter serve a 'haole' couple. The 'haole' husband, Oliver Finch, has a great liking for a Japanese-style garden and bath (*ofuro*). His Japanism is not confined to them: the Japanese daughter (*musume*) has a red-haired, white-skinned little boy called 'Oribu' (Olive – 'Japanese people can't pronounce "l", "v" and "r"s too good . . .' [Saiki 1991, 6]). Saiki writes, 'I don't think this is the first time such a thing happened in the island' (1991, 6). In 'Portraits', which is set in

Hawai'i in 1938, Japanese fears of the 'haoles' and biases about them are such that Japanese parents keep their daughter away from a white man although they are only friends. Whites' taste for *musume* in a more contemporary version is depicted in 'Specter'. A 'haole' man, who found the traditional Japanese lifestyle the salvation of his nervous breakdown, seems to be 'indeed Japanese': 'Clad in a dark brown *yukata*, Stillwaite himself, except for his white skin and Nordic features, embodied the oriental man lounging at home in a cotton *kimono*. [...] His eyes are slanted! Delicate in build, he moved his arms and legs as a man doing Chinese calisthenics' (1991, 88). This 'Orientalist' does not begrudge what he has to pay for a local Japanese girl, who is usually 'Miss Teeny Bopper' but plays the role for him of a typical *musume* – 'the adorable Japanese woman, composed and uncomplaining, courteous, quiet and pliable as putty' – dressed up like a *geisha* (90).

In addition to such tragic/comic empty interdependent relationships between 'haoles' as colonisers and the Japanese as the colonised, complicated interrelationships in Hawai'i are described in respect of local/mainland and gender conflicts. 'From the Lanai' tells of a white couple who employ Japanese plantation labourers. To those Japanese, the wife, the mainlander, finds herself a stranger, feeling 'like a rich British colonist in India or Africa with a bevy of servants catering to every whim' (Saiki 1991, 42), while the husband, who grew up in Hawai'i, feels comfortable with them. 'Tada's Wife' depicts a Japanese couple, the wife from Tokyo, an extensive reader, and the illiterate husband from Lunalilo, the Hawaiian countryside. To him she is exotic like 'an umber-hued tundra bird transplanted to Hawaii' (1991, 45), whereas he is 'a diamond in the rough' and she has visions of 'molding' him into 'her idea of a cultivated person' (48). This 'colonial-marriage-trope' story concludes three years after their marriage, when, as everyone around them has warned, she returns to Japan with their daughter, leaving him despairing in Hawai'i.

To this discourse on Japanese identities from Hawai'i compiled in Saiki's and Hara's stories, Juliet Kono, Lois-Ann Yamanaka, and Milton Murayama add different representations. In 'Ojichan', Kono writes her grandfather's

unique story, mingling a Japanese folktale *Urashima Taro* and his experience of a huge tsunami in Hawai'i. The hybrid story is very impressive to her, related to the complexity of her world:

I imagined myself on the back of *Urashima Taro's* turtle transporting me deeper and deeper into the depths of the high-towered, pot-bellied building where the priest sat meditating in front of the Buddha. (Kono 1988, 56)

Suddenly, the cane turned into a swaying green sea. The rice birds flew up and swirled around like a fish. And I was riding *Urashima Taro's* turtle once more – driving deeper and deeper into the green. (58)

This Japanese old tale adapted for local Hawai'i is a vehicle for depiction of Japanese Hawaiian diaspora identities.

As to intergenerational conflict, she expresses it from an 'upstart and wayward' sansei-daughter's viewpoint in 'Reconciliation':

You're forgiving
of the small imperfections
you find in your drawings
as you have long forgiven
those found in me.

Mother, I have a confession.
I, too, have long forgiven you
for never having finished school
beyond the eighth grade,
for speaking with an "island" accent,
for us being poor,
and Japs. (83-84)

Such discontent of an ‘American’ daughter towards Japanese parents is depicted in Kono’s later work as criticism both of them and herself. The tone is both sarcastic and humorous. In ‘Before Time’, she enumerates every thinkable ‘unorthodox’ beings, discrimination traditionally made in terms of ‘race’, class, vocation, corporal characteristics, creed, family, language, accent, and so on:

They said to marry only Japanese.
and only *some* of our own kind:
not zuzuben. batten. kotonk.
hibakusha, eta, Uchinanchu –
night-soil carrier. big-rope people.
Before time, they said not to marry
keto, gaijin, haole – hair people, foreigner. white:
saila boy, Chineese, club foot, one thumb, chimba, mahu, glass eye,
harelip, bolinki, pigeon-toe, Pologee, Uncle Joe’s friend, Kanaka, cane cutter,
mandolin player, night diver, Puerto Rican, tree climber, nose picker,
Filipino, thief, bartender, jintan sucker, Korean, paniolo, farmer,
bearded,
mustachioed, Teruko’s brother, daikon leg, cane hauler, left-handed, right-
handed, smartaleck, Christian, poor speller, commie, Indian, leper,
Hakka, cripple, drunk, flat nose, old, Jew Pake, chicken fighter,
pig hunter, moke, ice cruncher, opium
smoker, one-side-eyebrow raiser, fat,
olopop, skinny, Punti, thick lip,
albino, kurombo. (1995. 123)

On the other hand, her ‘A Scolding from My Father’ describes a warning against her:

What kind Japanese you?
Nothing more worse in this world

than one Japanee
 who like be something
 he not.
 No matter how much you like –
 no can!
 No can *be* haole.
 [...]
 No can *be* Chineese.
 [...]
 And no can *be* Hawaiian.
 [...]
 Why you like be something you not?
 You no more shame or what?
 Eh, you no figa too,
 that maybe these guys
 they no *like* you
 suck around them? (124-125)

These works are penetrated by a theme of rejecting both disdain and longing for what one is not. This is a significant theme for creating a new identity to overcome generation, ethnic, and gender conflicts, which political authorities always take advantage of to justify their control. Kono represents this theme by depicting Japanese women who attempt to be as they are. As such attempts, the struggles of a Japanese wife nursing her 'haole' mother-in-law with Alzheimer's disease are presented in 'The Elizabeth Poems' in her *Tsunami Years* and also developed in her short story 'Rock Fever' published in *Bamboo Ridge*.

Lois-Ann Yamanaka, by contrast, depicts a warped sense of self-hatred and inferiority complex in relation to haoles in 'Tita: Japs', a poem in her *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre* (1993). 'I ain't one fuckin' Jap like them. / Their eyes mo slant than mine and yeah, / I one Jap, but not that kine, / the kine all good and smart and perfect / [...] / That kine Jap is what I ain't' (1993, 31). In

her three novels following this impressive poetry, she offers a different perspective on Japanese diaspora identities by describing Japanese girl protagonists. *Wild Meat and the Bully Burgers* (1996) insists on taking the protagonist's 'self' as it is with her struggle with her own feeling ashamed of Japanese ways and longing for 'haole' ones. It similarly shows the urge to conform to dominant images. Yet the text also shows the drive to escape conformity within the migrant enclave. She is sworn at by her father for the first time in her life: 'You always make like we something we not, I tell you. When you going open your eyes and learn, hah? You ain't rich, you ain't haole, and you ain't strong inside. You just one little girl' (1996, 260). She hates her Japanese classmates who all have 'the same Japan pencils in Japan pencil cases' and 'the same bubble-gum-smelling erasers', all have 'the same scent on the same day', and 'all have straight, long black hair with long bangs behind the ears' (190). Against this pressure of 'sameness', which penetrates Japanese nationalism and colonialism and which Albert Wendt (in *Ola*), Kono and contemporary Japanese writers such as Natsuki Ikezawa resist in their work, the protagonist has no word but 'Oh yeah?' But Yamanaka asserts the necessity to object to such oppression: 'Say something. / Say something. / Say anything but "Oh yeah?"' (195). As her grandfather, who came to Hawai'i from Japan in 1907 as a plantation labourer, valued a package containing soil from Japan, so the protagonist puts some soil off Haupu Mountain in a package. The American girl's package with some soil is similar to her Japanese ancestor's in appearance. Yet their contents are different: hers is not Japanese but Hawaiian. On the other hand, Yamanaka expresses attachment to 'Japanese identities' through the protagonist's sense of distance from her uncle who, living in Guam, has a 'real nice haole accent' but does not know about Japanese shows that she watches on TV (264-265).

With this ambiguity kept as her work's texture, Yamanaka in turn describes protests against 'haole' teachers in *Blu's Hanging* (1997) and reconciliation with a 'haole' boy in *Heads by Harry* (1999). In *Blu's Hanging*, the protagonist girl becomes conscious of her own value through her Japanese

teacher's anger with her 'haole' colleagues:

"You are so condescending, Tammy, it's pathetic. I'm a Jap to you. And my friends are all brownies. It's written all over your face every minute of every day. I've had to put up with your judgment of us and your snide remarks for months now. I'm no dummy, so don't you ever talk down to me, you undastand" – Miss Ito's pidgin English comes out. I've never heard her use it. "Cause you keep acting stupid, Tammy, you keep on lifting your haole nose in the air at me and my friends, you going hear worse things than 'haole' come out of this Jap's mout'." (Yamanaka 1997, 128)

Miss Ito's 'pidgin' English functions as a medium to represent Japanese Hawaiian identities like a new version of *Urashima Taro* in Juliet Kono's story. At the same time, it is an indignant voice of a local woman – but not an entirely subaltern – that breaks local 'non-haole' people's silence. This silence, as Stephen Sumida suggests, 'has been forced upon these people of Hawai'i by authority and circumstance, in punishment, perhaps, for someone's having spoken out in insubordination', and which is no longer a virtue (227).

In *Heads by Harry*, a Japanese family takes charge of a 'haole' boy, holding a sense in common that they are local non-natives who cannot belong to their place completely.

I still don't know who was happier – Billy or Mommy. Billy, who needed somebody like Mommy, unconditional with her biting, blunt, local kind of love, or Mommy, who needed someone to mold into another teacher's success story of which Auntie Mildred had none. Billy was part of our family, the kind of haole that wasn't a condescending mainland haole. He was a local haole who took no offense to the word, and laid-back with his body. (Yamanaka 1999, 95-96)

As the protagonist's brother makes clear, ethnic pride and self-hatred are both dead ends: 'Us Japanese even think we're better than Okinawans and Ainu and

they're Japanese too. All us damn locals crumbing around the floor for the same crumbs. [...] I mean, *everybody* hate the Japs. Excuse me for living. Even we hate us, and we Japs. That's why we all rather have hapa kids, so the blood mix – we no like be pure Jap no more' (221). Nevertheless, the protagonist attempts to be only friends (not lovers) with the 'haole' boy forever despite his love with her (and probably vice versa).

Yamanaka's Pacific Island is said to be more 'mysterious and exotic' than outsiders' (a comment by *Atlantic Monthly* presented on the cover of *Heads by Harry*). Her main characters, local youngsters, are involved in such issues as 'homosexuality' and 'autism' as well as having two 'real' fathers. Yet 'mysterious and exotic' is outsiders' judgement. As mentioned earlier, Milton Murayama's Pacific also tends to be 'misread' by metropolitan complacent perspectives. However, as with Kono's and Yamanaka's works, the aim of Murayama's texts is not at celebrating younger American generations' triumph over older Japanese migrants. Murayama's works also attempt to present new diaspora culture and standpoints by depicting resistance and reconciliation, although his Hawai'i is not so 'mysterious'. Following his influential novel *All I Asking for Is My Body*, Murayama's two 1990s novels are focused on plantation Japanese identities in Hawai'i. In *All I Asking for Is My Body*, the viewpoint is fixed on Kiyoshi (Kiyo), who can see in proper perspective the conflict between Toshio (Tosh) – his elder brother and the first-born son (*chonon*) – and their parents. In *Five Years on a Rock* (1994) and *Plantation Boy* (1998), the focus is on their mother, Sawa, and Toshio respectively. Despite their confrontation, Sawa and Toshio both vainly attempt to renounce their plantation life, unlike Kiyoshi who can break with this identity by settling on the US mainland. The focus change from Kiyoshi into Sawa and Toshio in his works, it may be said, makes clear that Murayama's interest is not in depicting Japanese people's escape from plantation colonialism but in creating new Japanese identities from Hawai'i that are inseparable from such colonialism.

In *All I Asking for Is My Body*, 'pidgin' symbolises the way of resistance by the Japanese in Hawai'i to both 'haoles' and the older-generation Japanese.

Murayama writes 'we spoke four languages: good English in school, pidgin English among ourselves, good or pidgin Japanese to our parents and the other old folks' (1988, 5). This suggests that the resistance against the educational (US official) authority is more intense but seems latent to the authority and that the resistance against the older-generation Japanese is reconciliatory. In plantations ('organised toilets'), 'Mr. Nelson was top shit on the highest slope, then there were the Portuguese, Spanish, and *nisei lunas* with their indoor toilets which flushed into the same ditches, then Japanese Camp, and Filipino Camp' (96).

Freedom was freedom from other people's shit, and shit was shit no matter how lovingly it was dished, how high or low it came from. Shit was the glue which held a group together, and I was going to have no part of any shit or any group. (96)

Everybody in Kahana was dying to get out of this icky shit-hole [...]. Besides, once you fought, you earned the right to complain and participate, you earned a right to a future. (98)

However, in Murayama's texts, such a 'fight' is not only against oppressors but also 'self': freedom from plantations means overcoming 'plantation mentality' rather than escaping from them or eliminating autocratic authorities. 'Gaman' (perseverance, endurance or patience) is a key concept of *Five Years on a Rock*, the title exaggerating a proverb 'Three years on a rock', which means that 'perseverance will win in the end'. Sawa, coming to Hawai'i as a 'picture bride', endures physical and mental suffering from her husband, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and unbreakable poverty caused by the plantation system. 'We're taught from infancy to *gaman* and *gambaru*. Patience and perseverance are second nature' (Murayama 1994, 49). 'We *gaman* too much [...]; it's a Japanese disease' (144). It is not so much a virtue as how to get on in life. Such a persevering Japanese woman is quite different from her husband and sons, who attempt to flee from plantation labour, and differs also from characters in contemporary

Japanese texts who escape from reality in Japan into the Pacific islands. She persuades her husband, who sticks to his trade of fishing only to reduce his family to more poverty, to return to the plantation in order to pay debts that his father left them. Her patience brings them back to the plantation system to surmount 'plantation mentality', which fetters her husband even though he escapes from the plantation. In this sense, her *gaman* challenges both plantation colonialism and feudal patriarchy.

For Toshio, clearing off their debts, which is actualised through Kiyoshi's gambling in his army life (this is depicted in *All I Asking for Is My Body* as an unexpected twist at the end of the story), does not lead to overcoming his 'plantation mentality'. In *Plantation Boy*, Toshio keeps making strenuous efforts to become an architect and obtains a license in the end. Yet he realises that 'the same old plantation plot' is everywhere, especially after statehood, 'the final nail in the coffin' (Murayama 1998, 143). However, he wishes to choose to 'strike out on [his] own' rather than to 'keep working for [their] colonial paymaster' (178). The key concept of this story is 'anger', Toshio's rage towards 'haoles' and his parents.

Shit! The plantations wen bring our parents to work the canefields! We born here! We fought the Japs and the Nazis! We only thirty-five percent of the population, but we took eighty percent of Hawaii's casualties! We wen earn the right to be here! We wen work and die for it! [...] (169-170)

You made me quit high school! You made me work in the canefields! I went to night school for my diploma! You didn't do a thing for me! Because of you I now have to compete with college graduates fifteen years younger! And you want to pile some more on me! I'm finished with you! I sacrifice ten years! (152)

Murayama writes, 'You can pretend to be anything in Hawaii' (162). Peasants act like *samurais*, Japanese people like 'haoles', and colonised like colonisers. Such pretence is the essence of Japanese colonialism, and

challenging towards it is the point of Japanese postcoloniality, as repeatedly suggested in previous chapters. Not pretending to be anything, Sawa and Toshio are tenacious but forceless, nonviolent resisters armed with perseverance and anger respectively, both against American and Japanese colonialism/authoritarianism.

As is clear from the argument in this chapter, despite the great similarity of contemporary works from Hawai'i and Japan, their postcolonial modes are different in that the Japanese writings deal with retaliations of the Pacific Islands towards the Japanese. Anti-Japanese colonialism is more strongly found in Japanese postcolonialism than in Hawai'i's postcolonialism. In other words, Hawai'i's recent works accentuate creating new identities, which are provisional and local, rather than engaging in self-criticism or a denial of 'history' that has been told by outsiders.

Conclusion

Homi Bhabha's concepts of colonialists' ambivalence and colonised people's mimicry can be applied, to some extent, to considering Japanese discourses on the Pacific. It may be said that Nanyo-Orientalism innately includes anxiety and uncertainty about Japan's overpowering control over the islanders. At the same time, Nanyo-Orientalism mimics Western South-Sea-Orientalism in order both to control Island difference and to oppose Western Orientalism vis-à-vis Japan. This coloniser-colonised subject is at arm's length from the models of colonised and colonising subjects (Orient and Occident) presented in 'colonial/postcolonial studies' by Edward Said and so on. It typically shows that the West/non-West, the oppressor/oppressed, the coloniser/colonised, and imperialism/anti-imperialism not only should not be considered as fixedly divided and confronted but also can be acknowledged as coexisting in a single entity.

Unlike Said's Orientalist model, Nanyo-Orientalism carries double ambivalence: yearning and antipathy towards the 'West' on the one hand and desire and fear towards the 'South' on the other. In the Pacific, where Euro-American, Asian/Pacific, and Japanese subjects have been striving together, the difference between Japanese and Western Orientalism can be elicited more perspicuously. In Japanese colonial discourses, the Other (the colonised subject) is not so much 'almost the same but not quite' (Bhabha 89) as 'different but moderately similar'. Although Japanese imperialists adopted a perspectival world-view and the form of novel from the West in the process of Japan's modernisation, the Japanese colonial space was constructed more as a time-honoured *monogatari* (tale) space, where emperors (*Tenno*) and barbarians are

definitely worlds apart. Absolute difference which *monogatari* space produces prevents crises of self-doubt and fear of boundary collapse. This self-confidence allows a benevolent proximity working to produce sameness. On this basis, colonised people's mimicry is less of a threat to Japanese colonisers than to their Western counterparts. The Japanese, viewing *Tenno* as the absolute 'other' but identifying themselves with *Tenno* when confronted with 'foreigners', perceived the colonised as 'similar, though basically different' (close others).

On the other hand, the Western Christian world's intention to make a perspectival colonial space as a homogeneous measurable sphere is cheek by jowl with boundary collapse. Western colonialism, carrying a lead of Enlightenment universalism and Christian evangelism, is obliged to expect sameness and then outraged/threatened when difference is encountered. As a result, difference is highlighted and assimilation confined to social and cultural mimicry. In Western colonial discourses, the colonised are viewed as 'racially different, if humanly similar' (remote relatives).

Despite its inherent schism and resistance within the West and Japan, Orientalism has survived. Indeed, it has survived by absorbing such contradictions and resistance. The colonialist fantasy of a 'southern earthly paradise' and its 'ig/noble savages' remains, changing its contents from 'immaculate' into 'hybrid' islands/people, hybridisation caused by colonial encounters – expeditions, missionary work, education, immigration, marriage, war, and tourism. Furthermore, postwar Japanese discourses on the Pacific reveal Orientalism's latency in and concomitancy with postcolonialism, especially in the internationally popular monster Godzilla.

Not only that, in contemporary Japanese discourses we can also see confrontation between (neo-)colonialism/Orientalism and postcolonialism. Confrontation and contradiction over post/colonialism in Japanese discourses (between Japan and the West, Japan and Asia/Pacific, pre- and postwar Japanese cultures, and so forth) have repercussions for postcolonial discourses from the Pacific Islands. Micronesian disputes over comparing US and Japanese colonial rule, and identity competition in Hawai'i between natives and Japanese

Americans, 'haoles' and Japanese Amerians, Korean and Japanese immigrants, Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants, Japanese Americans and Japanese tourists, natives and Japanese tourists, and so on, are cases in point.

Attempts to go beyond (not settle) such postcolonial conflicts by mingling Japanese and Pacific island elements have also begun to be seen in both Japanese and Pacific islander postcolonial discourses since the 1990s. Resistance from local viewpoints against metropolitan/local authoritative representations and reconciliatory syncretic identities are simultaneously depicted in new postcolonial texts by Albert Wendt, Natsuki Ikezawa, Gary Pak, Juliet Kono, Lois-Ann Yamanaka, Milton Murayama, and *Storyboard* writers.

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